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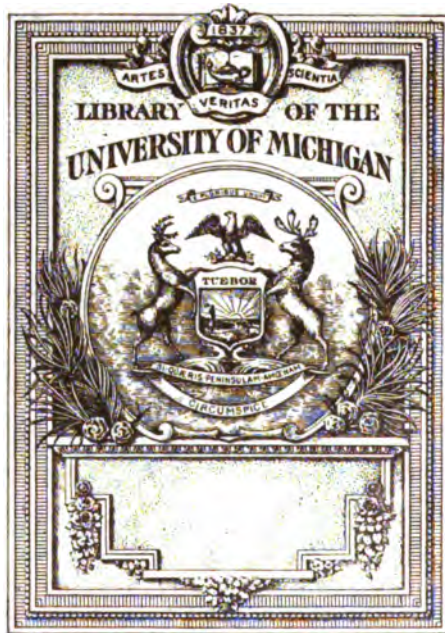
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The Child Labor Bulletin

VOL. V.

MAY, 1916—FEBRUARY, 1917

WITH INDEX

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First Session

**Samuel McCune Lindsay, Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee,
Presiding**

The Twelfth Annual Conference on Child Labor opened on Thursday afternoon, February 3, 1916, at Asheville, North Carolina. After the Annual Report of the General Secretary*, **Mr. D. Hiden Ramsay**, City Commissioner of Public Safety, welcomed the conference to Asheville.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

D. HIDEN RAMSAY

Commissioner of Public Safety, Asheville, N. C.

You have gathered in our city from all parts of the nation in the interest of a cause which is close to the hearts of most of us—the safeguarding of the American child. You are pledged to the belief that no child should be released upon society as an economic factor until that child has received the best intellectual equipment that our civilization can bestow, and we are deeply honored that a conference with purposes so high, with ideals so lofty and with a membership so distinguished should meet in our city.

Child labor as a social problem is very largely concentrated in the southern tier of states. It has come down to the present generation as a heritage from that stern economic struggle that followed the war. The economic structure of the South had been overturned; the men who were best able to bear the burdens of a changing order had been killed or maimed; the people were impoverished. At such a time the first consideration was the economic restoration of the section and to the achievement of this purpose many sacrifices had to be made. Every element of strength had to be utilized.

* See Child Labor Bulletin, November, 1915, for Annual Report.

Is it strange that the old and the young had to play their parts in the grim battle?

But now the need of such sacrifices has passed away and to continue them would be criminal. We have long since reached the stage where the South does not require the labor of its children to turn the wheels of its industry. The backs of the adults are broad enough to carry the weight of our economic structure without forcing any portion on the frail shoulders of the children. We may debate the question as to the proper legislative procedure to follow in prohibiting child labor but there can not be any doubt as to the injustice, the undemocracy of any system which permits the employment of children.

The world does not owe any man a living but it does owe to its children the right to use their childhood in storing up strength and power to earn a living after they have passed out of the childhood stage. Many years ago Thomas Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence committed the American people to the idea that all men are created equal but we know that in the literal sense of the word that is not true. And it is a good thing that it is not true for the human race is like any other race—there would be no fun unless somebody came out ahead. Democracy is not as some people conceive it—a weird, powerful force going through the world hammering down to the same level all heads that threaten pre-eminence. But democracy does stand unalterably for this equality—the equality of opportunity—for the conviction that every child should have equal opportunity to acquire health and education for use in his later life. And when we allow a part of our children to work at long hours in confining employment, when we deny them the opportunities of the public school system which we have built up for them, when we force upon them an economic responsibility before their bodies and minds can helpfully assume this responsibility, we are contradicting the fundamentals of our political creed.

That is indeed a short-sighted civilization which centers its attention on the present, utilizing every force for present progress, and does not attempt to conserve a liberal portion of its power for the years that lie ahead.

After the response by Dr. Lindsay an address was delivered by **Miss Lillian D. Wald**, of the Henry Street Settlement, New York City.

VOCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIPS

LILLIAN D. WALDHenry Street Settlement, New York City

When I first came to live on the lower east side of New York, perhaps the most crowded section in the world, I held the conventional belief, accepted by many people with whom I came in contact at the time, that impossible achievements were entirely credible if a child were only poor. The juvenile literature of three decades ago abounded in impossible little heroes, boys who blacked boots or sold papers, and who rose to high positions in consequence, but in our wide contact with children of all ages, nationalities and temperaments we have found these heroes very rare indeed, and our experience has convinced us that the children of the poor do not differ from the children of the well-to-do. The children of the poor are handicapped through life, physically because of undernourishment, and mentally because of the lack of education that prepares for life. I believe if I had to decide which were better able to go out into the world and take care of themselves at 14, the children of the poor or the children of the rich, I should say that the children of the rich were better prepared in every way.

We began early to devise plans for giving the children of the tenement houses something of the preparation that all of us think necessary for the boys and girls who belong to us or to our friends and relatives. After the child labor law was passed prohibiting children under 14 from working, we discovered that even 14-year-old children were too young to go to work. A child of 14 is of no economic value to the trade that he or she may enter. Such children usually enter the blind-alley trades and the small wage they earn in no way compensates for their loss of education and training. These children seldom emerge from the ranks of the unskilled. So all the children of the settlement, eligible for working-papers, whose mothers are widows or whose fathers because of illness are not able to support them, are kept in some vocational school until they are 16 and a sum approximating the possible earnings of the child during those two years is paid the mother from the scholarship fund. We have given these so-called scholarships for a sufficient length of

time to enable us to make a fair estimate of their value. In a comparison of the earning capacity of the children who have had two years of vocational training before going to work, with the earning capacity of children who have gone to work without such training, we have found that the earning capacity of the former was double, treble, and in a few instances four times, that of the others.

To get further assurance of the value of our personal experiences, we had the careers of 1,000 children who had applied for working-papers investigated—children other than those with whom we were personally acquainted. The investigator took the addresses of the last thousand children who had applied at the Department of Health, which in New York issues children's working-papers, and a study of these 1,000 children disclosed a fact which is quite as important as that regarding their earning capacity, namely, that the typical child of 14 who goes to work without preparation changes his or her occupation six to ten times in the course of a year. No occupation into which this typical child enters leads to anything more valuable than the first job.

The ephemeral character of work available for children of 14 to 16 years of age is not peculiar to New York City. In Maryland, working-papers are issued for each separate employment. A report of the Maryland Bureau of Statistics for the year 1914 shows that the number of original applications in one year was 3,580 and the total of subsequent applications, 4,437. Of the 3,580 children, 2,006 came back a second time, 1,036 a third time, 561 a fourth, 363 a fifth, 194 a sixth, 116 a seventh, 53 an eighth, 29 a ninth, 18 a tenth, and one child came back for the eighteenth time in a twelvemonth, for working-papers. Many of the children told stories of long periods of idleness between employments.

Thus we have been convinced that 14 is too low an age at which to send the child to work. There may be instances here and there of exceptional boys or girls who, despite all handicaps, are able to get on, but ordinary boys and girls are children at 14, unfit to go to work and unable to guard themselves properly.

Miss Wald was followed by **Hon. Zebulon Weaver,*** of Asheville.

* Mr. Weaver introduced the child labor bill at the last session of the North Carolina Legislature.

ATTEMPTED CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

HON. ZEBULON WEAVER
North Carolina General Assembly

The census of 1910 showed 4,000 children in this state between 10 and 13 years of age employed in the cotton mills alone, while the number of 14 and 15-year-old children employed was over 5,000. This means that in North Carolina thousands of young children who should be in school are working daily in the mills and other places of employment. Our civilization, it seems to me, owes to its young care, education and protection until they have reached the age of 14 years at least, and, so believing, I have become interested in legislation on this subject.

At the last General Assembly of this state, our present Governor in a message to that body recommended the enactment of a good child labor law in clear and emphatic language. A bill was introduced in the Assembly the principal features of which were: a 14-year limit in mills, factories, workshops and places of amusement; an 8-hour day for children under 16; and the appointment of inspectors to investigate and prevent violations of the law by parents or the mills, and to ascertain the sanitary conditions under which the work was performed. Opposition to the bill came only from the cotton mill owners, but they and their legislative committee came early and stayed late. They came from every part of the state, and such was their influence that the bill was defeated.

The real issue was obscured. Few, if any, of the mill men when asked directly would say that children under 14 years should be regularly employed, but the general conditions of adult labor in the mills were used against the age limit proposed. From their statements it sometimes seemed as if the mills were largely charitable establishments, conducted primarily for the care of the widows, orphans and other unfortunates of the state. And yet I would not be just if I did not say that I believe there are many big-hearted and broad-minded men at the heads of cotton mills in this state who in their hearts are opposed to child labor and who would be entirely willing to have a 14-year limit established by law with adequate provision for its enforcement. But on the other hand, I am equally

sure that there are parents willing to put their children to work and mill superintendents who will employ them so long as they can, and that nothing but a stern, adequate and uncompromising enactment by the state will bring relief.

The mills, factories and workshops are not dependent on the labor of the child under 14 years of age. They are not his proper place and the state should see that he is not there. The state has an interest in every boy and girl. North Carolina has made and is making great efforts to educate her children and the children, all of them, should have the benefits of the efforts and expenditures. They can not if they are to toil in the factories.

In our campaign last year we were asked, "How shall the child live if it does not work?" How should the child live? How do most of them live? God made men and women responsible for the care of their young, and in those instances where a child is without parents or property, the state owes and should perform this duty. Again I quote from the message of Governor Craig, "If in our most progressive centers of industry and thrift, the family can not live without the work of children and the drudgery of women, then our civilization has broken down and is a failure."

We do not mean that children should grow up in idleness: there is much that a child can and should do to help its parents and others, but it should not be made to consume itself at an age when its muscles are not strong and its mind undeveloped and untrained.

What shall be done in North Carolina? Opposed on the one hand by arguments of unconstitutionality when federal legislation is proposed, and met upon the other with the unyielding power and influence of the manufacturers themselves, it is evident that the children will not be freed from labor until the people of the state demand that child labor in the mills, factories and workshops cease now and forever.

Second Session

C. L. Coon, Secretary, North Carolina Child Labor Committee, Presiding

TRUE PREPAREDNESS IN GREATER PROTECTION TO CHILDHOOD

DR. SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee

It would be entirely out of place at this meeting to discuss any plan of military preparedness that is before the country. It would, however, be a mistake if a group of people like this, interested in a subject so vital to the welfare of the nation as the protection of children, did not take advantage of the public interest in preparedness to point out that we have been engaged in a work of preparedness for many years, a work that we think fundamental to any preparedness that will enable the nation to express its full strength and develop its full powers for any and every purpose. I think this is a time when we may well ask the government not merely to pass a bill for the protection of children, such as the Keating-Owen child labor bill now pending in Congress, but go further than that and ask our government to consider in any plan of preparedness which it adopts whether the government is doing all it can for the upbuilding of the physical vitality of the nation, which must be one of the great assets of any country when called on to meet an emergency.

It is only a year since those represented in this meeting united in a request for an increase of over 100 per cent in the congressional appropriation for the Children's Bureau. Congress is entirely too unconcerned and too little informed as to the possibilities involved in the aid which the government might give to those engaged in the work of education and child welfare throughout the country. The work of the Children's Bureau could be almost indefinitely extended so as to result in a great economic saving to the nation

from every dollar spent by that Bureau in carrying out its functions as outlined in the law that created it. Every dollar spent by the Children's Bureau is a dollar invested in aiding those who in various states and localities throughout the nation are contributing their share to the upbuilding of intelligence and physical strength.

We may therefore very properly urge our representatives in Congress when they consider any plans they may see fit to adopt for taking care of our national defense, to give earnest consideration also to the need of spending more money than hitherto in developing the educational facilities of the country, in increasing the protection of its children and in the promotion of public health. We take great pride in some things that have been done in developing public health in this country but the individualistic spirit and the great regard for the material progress of the country have both contributed toward making us lag far behind in what is known as social legislation. We have not, as far as the power of the federal government goes, given the attention that other nations have to legislation affecting the social welfare of the people.

One aspect of preparedness that will be brought to the front in the near future is that of industrial efficiency and that is something towards which those of us interested in the child labor program have felt that we were making some contribution. It ought to need no argument to show that the moderate demands made by the child labor movement throughout the country, protecting children to the extent of not admitting them to work or regarding them as an economic asset to their parents or to industry, before the age of 14, constitute one of the fundamental steps toward industrial efficiency. Likewise the other demands, for the supervision of children between the ages of 14 and 16, for reasonable hours, for the prohibition of night work, and for extra supervision in dangerous occupations, are all moderate demands of the child labor movement and lie at the very base of industrial efficiency. So if we are to have a nation that is sound physically and industrially we must expect our government to do more than has been done in the past to help us accomplish these things.

The discussion of military preparedness furnishes an unusually good opportunity to arouse greater interest in what the government may do for the social welfare of the people. It promises also to make us think in national terms about matters which can only be

dealt with effectively in a national way through the exercise and development of national powers and the machinery of the national government. Therefore if we are to meet our full duty and opportunity we must take our part in the discussion of the newer problems that have presented themselves to the nation and seek through their proper correlation with those older problems of social welfare with which we have had experience, to protect the standards of child welfare. Whatever our position as individuals may be on questions of military preparedness I trust that we shall bring all the persuasive influence of our National Child Labor Committee with its 8,000 to 9,000 associate members, representing as they do great potential power in every state in the union, to bear on Congress and the national administration in support of that kind of social preparedness represented in the Keating-Owen child labor bill and in the more liberal financial support of the Children's Bureau.

Dr. Lindsay was followed by Dr. W. S. Currell, President of the University of South Carolina, who said in part:

"One thing that has hampered the child labor cause in the South is the fact that compulsory education has not gone along with child labor laws, and the manufacturers have taken the ground—and in that way delayed legislation—that they would welcome child labor laws when they could get compulsory education. I believe that from now on we would make more progress with child labor laws if we approached them from the angle of compulsory education. When you attack a man for employing children in his mill you practically tell him he is brutal and inhuman, but when you tell him the children must be educated, you approach him on a platform that he can not help understanding.

"There are time-worn objections to compulsory education, of course. First, I suppose, is the objection to the word 'compulsion' or 'compulsory.' But why should not people be compelled to do what is right? Another more important objection is the poverty of the parents, which, it is said, causes them to put their children to work. Your exhibit answers that. To relieve their poverty by crippling the mental, physical and moral lives of their children is relieving it at a great expense to them and to society. It would save money for the state or federal government to pay those parents the wages the children would get for their work. Still another objection is the difficulty of enforcement. Well, all laws are difficult of enforcement. We do not even enforce our laws against murder: there are more homicides in the United States than in any other country. But is that a reason for not having a law against murder? Anyone who has been in educational work knows it is difficult to enforce laws. Pupils even disobey their teachers sometimes.

"But in this matter we have settled on a few fundamentals. For example, a child shall not engage in a gainful occupation under the age of 14—that is

practically an axiom. And the ideal amount of schooling he shall have a year is about thirty-six weeks. That ideal is not reached, but every child has the right to as much education as every other child. Then there is another thing—no steady gainful occupation shall be engaged in during the school period. I do not mean he shall not make occasional money, but that he shall have no steady occupation, injurious or not, because he can not do two things well at the same time. Then a child shall not be employed in extremely difficult or dangerous tasks.

"And I call the monotony of the cotton mill difficult. While easy in one sense it is a well-known fact that if we do the same little thing an infinite number of times, it becomes a hardship. If I had a hundred thousand pins on this table and had to pick up one pin at a time and transfer it to this desk, it may seem that it would not entail much sense or muscular power. But after I had done it for ten years, how much sense do you think I would have left? It is more difficult to do a thing like that than to lift a heavy weight, because monotony debilitates and enfeebles.

"But we have one more axiom: child labor is unprofitable. I was talking to a mill owner on the train to-day. He said, 'I hold that from the financial point of view we ought to do away with child labor. It is not profitable. The child is not efficient and it takes more children to do a given task than it does grown people. For instance if I could have only college graduates in my mill, I should prefer that. I would have to pay higher wages, but I would get a great deal more done.' That sounded like sense to me. The inefficient children lower the wages of adults besides giving less result. Child labor is seemingly cheap, but really very costly."

Mr. Lovejoy: I should like to say in reference to President Currell's remarks about getting a compulsory education law or a child labor law first that it has always been our policy to take whichever we could get first. I remember meeting one of the most prominent manufacturers of President Currell's state and he said, "We would work with you if you would incorporate in your child labor bill a compulsory education bill." "How many people in your state would vote for a child labor law if you would let them alone?" I asked. "Ninety per cent," he said. "How many people could be persuaded to vote for a compulsory education law?" I asked. "Not over ten per cent," he answered. We may be very innocent and I know we are not supposed to be practical but if you try to hitch a hundred horsepower load to a ten horsepower car you will not get very far so we keep the issues separate and if we can get compulsory education first, we will take it, and if we can get a child labor law first, we are entirely willing to take that.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary of the National Consumer's League, then spoke on the importance of an adequate system of birth registration in enforcing all laws relating to children. She said in part:

"In its first annual report the federal Children's Bureau pointed out that for thirty years this country has locked its vital statistics in the vault of the Census Bureau. We do not know how many children are born, or of how many

fathers and mothers, or how many mothers work for wages. We know nothing about it for we have never been sufficiently interested to ask to have these schedules printed. The Children's Bureau has worked out a system of its own for interesting people in the subject of birth registration and should receive your interest and support that its appropriation may be increased and its work extended for without birth registration there can be no enforcement of child labor laws."

Mrs. John W. Woods, of Rotan, Texas, was unable to attend the meeting, but sent a paper on Compulsory Education and Child Labor in Texas, a part of which is here quoted:

"The right of the government to compel school attendance was recognized by our early English colonies. Massachusetts was the first of the states to adopt compulsory attendance laws, passing a primitive law in 1852, a more comprehensive one in 1872, while in 1899 both strict child labor and compulsory school attendance laws were passed. Connecticut soon followed with similar laws and in 1872 placed the enforcement of child labor and school attendance laws in the hands of state agents. Following in rapid succession, all the states of the union with the exception of Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida and South Carolina adopted compulsory attendance laws. In the last two years all of these states except Georgia and Mississippi have come into line.

"During our campaign in Texas they told us that to compel children to attend school or to force them to labor would work a great hardship on many poor people. They told us that we were not ready for such advanced reforms as compulsory education. That is as absurd as it would be to say that the children of Israel just out of Egyptian bondage were not ready for the Ten Commandments as given Moses on Mt. Sinai. Those contending that the law could not be enforced would not advocate the suspension of laws against the taking of life for the reason that there are violations of the law. The violation of rights suggests the need of laws.

"Objection was made to the expenditure of state money for payment of attendance officers, but the argument that we should spend more money in providing for regular attendance upon school and proper enforcement of child labor laws and less for peace officers and policemen was convincing, for no one will deny that asylums, penitentiaries and jails are being recruited from the ranks of former neglected and overworked children.

"The fact that 50% of the children in Texas were not attending school, with the further fact that illiteracy among the whites was increasing while it was decreasing among the blacks, finally aroused sufficient sentiment against approaching dangers so that after five stormy days of filibustering in the Senate the 34th Legislature of Texas, a year ago, passed the compulsory school attendance bill which provides for the attendance of all children between the ages of 7 and 14 inclusive and becomes effective September 1, 1916."

The next speaker was Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Chairman of the Alabama Child Labor Committee, who told of what a southern state can do once it gets started.

MOVING FORWARD IN ALABAMA

MRS. W. L. MURDOCH,
Chairman, Alabama Child Labor Committee

At a meeting of the National Child Labor Committee several years ago I heard Rabbi Wise say, "This is the children's hour and the darkness of the children's wrongs is passing and the daylight of the children's rights dawning." As I went back to Alabama thinking of those words, I wondered if the same murky smoke which so dims the natural daylight in our state had been the factor in dimming the public conscience so that the daylight of children's rights was coming more slowly in Alabama than in the other states. It has come, however, for since the last session of the legislature we have literally put on seven league boots and it can no longer be said of our state, "Everybody rests but the children."

It has been our humiliation to be put in the class of states which have no standards of living, no protection for children and no legislation for working women. It is due to the National Child Labor Committee that in the four years since the Alabama legislature last met, the public conscience has been so profoundly stirred that laws for the protection of children were passed in its 1915 session.

The Alabama Child Labor Committee took for its motto, "First agitate then legislate." The agitation consisted not only of speeches and newspaper publicity, but also of a fairly complete investigation of the conditions of working children in the state. You may be surprised, as we were, to learn that there were nearly three times as many children at work in other industries in Alabama as there were in the cotton mills. The words "child labor" and "cotton mills" had almost come to be synonymous terms because the former laws governed only this form of occupation. But we found our problem was not solely a cotton mill problem. It seems to me that not only in Alabama, but throughout the South, the reason this feeling in regard to cotton mills exists is because every time any attempt is made to pass adequate child labor laws, a solid phalanx of cotton mill men are on hand to oppose their enactment. This was certainly true in Alabama. No other industry in the state offered any opposition and it is due to the fight made by these men that we were reluctantly obliged to accept an 11-hour day. With this exception,

and the failure to secure an adequate force of inspectors, the bill is one of the best in the country. It is because of the 11-hour day that the Alabama Child Labor Committee is so profoundly interested in the passage of the federal child labor bill.

In this same memorable session of the legislature, we also passed a compulsory education law, a non-support law, a bill requiring juvenile courts in every county, and a bill allowing women to serve on school boards. Does not that mark a long step in advance in the benighted state of Alabama?

The juvenile court law will help to enforce the child labor law as it requires not only a judge but a probation committee which shall in reality constitute a juvenile protective association. This bill, by the way, is probably one of the best in the United States, and I think it passed largely because the legislators themselves were not perfectly sure what they were passing. It is really so inclusive that when the first clause was read some of us wondered whether our own children would be exempt from its grasp.

The non-support bill will be an additional help for it makes it possible to put the lazy fathers, who have enjoyed sitting on their porches and telling you how poorly they are while their children supported them, to work on the county roads, giving their wives fifty cents a day out of the public treasury while they are so employed. We have already tried this law out in Birmingham and it is surprising how quickly these "poorly fathers" recover their health and strength.

We realize, however, that it is not enough to pass laws and then be indifferent to their enforcement, so the Committee is at work creating public opinion all over the state which will not tolerate any violation of these splendid laws. We have been so fortunate as to secure the promise of an expert worker from the Children's Bureau during March and April, and hope to work out a constructive program of child welfare for the state.

It is clear to you from this, I presume, that Alabama has taken a long step forward; that she is no longer at the bottom of the ladder of social progress but climbing at last toward the top. It seems to-day as if the vision of that great Alabaman, Edgar Gardner Murphy, is going to be a reality and that a protected childhood will soon exist in Alabama.

Third Session

Dr. Lindsay, Presiding

Lewis W. Hine, staff photographer of the National Child Labor Committee, showed some stereopticon slides of conditions recently found in North Carolina cotton mills. Mr. Hine said in part:

"Here is a child of 10 who has been working nine months in a mill; a child of 11 who has been working for two years, half of the time at night during the last two months; and plenty of 12-year-olds some of whom have been working two, three and four years in the mills of North Carolina. Any 12-year-old child working in the mills is a violation of the law and the emphasis of the Committee from now on will not be on the extremely small child who is getting more and more rare in the mills, but on the fact that it is as great a crime to employ a 12-year-old child as an 8-year-old."

At the close of Mr. Hine's address **Mr. Lovejoy** read a telegram just received from **A. B. Carter**, Secretary of the Southern Textile Association.

Telegram

"If conditions are as bad in southern cotton mills as have been painted by you something should be done for the relief of the children. Will you kindly explain to the conference what funds have ever been expended by the National Child Labor Committee to relieve suffering or educate children whose parents are unable to send them to school. Please also explain to the conference why the Keating bill was so drawn by you as not to affect tenement house work in New York where you well know that children of 5 or 6 years of age work for twelve to fifteen hours a day under the most unfavorable conditions. If you are sincere in your desire to help humanity why have you not given financial aid to the mill children of the South and why are you willing for children to continue to work within a few blocks of your New York office?"

Mr. Lovejoy: These are two very fair questions. The answer to the first is that we have felt it was the community's duty or the duty of the state to take upon itself the burden of support in cases where the family is unable to support its children. We have not the funds to do it and the obligation is not ours. Many states are meeting the problem by means of mothers' pension laws. As for expending funds to educate children, the National Child Labor Committee raises and expends about \$60,000 a year, while the public school system of the United States raises and expends about \$500,000,000. We think the problem of educating the American child is up to the people with the \$500,000,000 budget instead of those with the \$60,000 budget.

The answer to the second question is that tenements are included in the Keating bill in the word "workshops."

Mr. James F. Barrett, of the Typographical Union of Asheville, offered the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, that the audience assembled at this morning's meeting of the Child Labor Conference, independent of the officials of this Committee, do resent the attempt of the Southern Textile Association to discredit the work of this Committee and we brand the attempt as a cowardly dodging of the real issue.

RESOLVED FURTHER, that these resolutions be wired to Mr. Carter.

After some discussion and at the request of the General Secretary the resolution was withdrawn by Mr. Barrett and the following telegram was sent by the National Child Labor Committee:

"Replying to your two questions: First, we have no funds to support poor families. Do you wish us to understand that the commonwealths you represent are so impoverished that the burden of support must rest on the shoulders of little children under 14 years of age? Would adequate wages to adults help relieve this poverty?"

"Second, it is partly because we hope the Keating bill will do for the tenement children in New York what local workers have been unable to do that we urge its enactment. The Keating bill will clearly affect products of New York tenement manufacture in interstate commerce, just as it will affect interstate commerce in the products of southern or any other textile mills."

The regular program continued and an address on Education was given by **Mr. C. L. Coon**, of Wilson, N. C., Secretary of the North Carolina Child Labor Committee and Superintendent of Schools in Wilson, who said in part:

"You sometimes hear that a child can't get an education in the Southern states unless its family moves to a mill town. I have heard of children from factory homes who have finished the fourth grade. I personally know of only one mill child in our schools at Wilson right now who is over 12 and as far as the fifth grade, and he is the son of a mill superintendent. Out of 32 children from mill families in our schools, only two besides this boy are as far as the fourth grade. So far as Wilson is concerned it is hard to get such children in the fourth grade even—much less through the elementary school, and I think the gradation of pupils in cotton mill sections throughout the South will tell the same story. You can understand what effect this has on education."

Other addresses were delivered by **Mrs. Thomas W. Lingle**, President of the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, **Miss Eunice Sinclair**, Field Agent in North Carolina, National Child Labor Committee, and **Mrs. Martha P. Falconer**, Superintendent of the Girls' House of Refuge, Darling, Pa.

THE EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOR ON SOCIAL STANDARDS

MRS. THOMAS W. LINGLEPresident, North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs

The evolution of social standards has followed the course of man's progress from the early stages of civilization to the attainment of a more and more peaceful, humane, and intellectual manner of living with his fellows. The record is not an unbroken series of steps forward. On the contrary for every step forward there has been a step backward which at the time seemed to be equal or greater than the one in advance. In other words the various stages have been marked each with its own peculiar evil in social development because when a new phase of industrial or social life has been entered into, a new set of difficulties have arisen and a new set of problems have been encountered.

The advantages and disadvantages of any new invention seem almost equally balanced during the life of the generation that sees it develop from its first rough draft into a perfected tool for man. There are those now living who can remember when the sewing machine as a household article was preached about from the pulpit and denounced as that invention of the Evil One which would put the finishing stroke on woman's emancipation. The unanswerable query was put forth, "If woman does not have to sit by the cradle and stitch the endless seam, what power in heaven or on earth can keep her at her God-given task?"

There are others who have watched the march of civilization for threescore years perhaps and are now praying that they may go down to their graves in peace before aircraft machinery shall have been perfected, and before their eyes shall see the heavens above profaned by the ambitious flights of earth-born mortals! We can afford to smile at the limitations of those whose vision is growing short, but who has eyes so sharp and ears so keen that he can detect the good and evil in the movements of his own day?

Our distrust of innovations and our fear of inventions has not been of the mere animal sort that starts at the screech of the steam whistle or shies at the first clumsy automobile seen on the village street. Our distrust of new methods and models has been founded rather on the real or imaginary consequences which we foresee resulting from

them on human life and spiritual interests. And history shows that our fears have for the most part been well founded. Along with the discovery of new lands and the founding of new empires with undreamed of possibilities for race expansion came the evils of human slavery. With the attaining of freedom for the colonists from the trammels of the old world came bondage for the aborigine and the final extinction of races until then dominant. The curse of slavery is one which we have felt in this section most keenly, and whose far-reaching effects we are only beginning to realize.

By the same surprising contrariness, the invention and application of machinery in industry now threaten to restrict and restrain human life by the very processes by which it promised to liberate it. The same machinery which sets a thousand shoemakers free from their bench and enables them to go forth to compete with their fellows in the great world of organized industry, is calling girls and boys to long hours, low wages, poor air and nerve-straining tasks in noisy factories. Child labor is one of the unexpected evils resulting from the great industrial revolution which the application of machinery to manufacture has brought about. At first glance it would seem that the society that could endure or encourage child labor in the twentieth century was past being affected either for good or ill by its practice. And yet we recognize only three forces in any community which are responsible for child labor while society as a whole in town, state and nation feels its reaction. The manufacturer who seeks cheap labor, even though it be unskilled and uncertain, and the purchaser who wants cheap materials even though they be imperfect and perishable, are together responsible for child labor. They share the responsibility with a third party, and that is the parent who sees in the child a possible source of income rather than a legitimate cause for expenditure. Society as a whole suffers from the wrong viewpoint of all three. Since it is evident that the child can not cope with them alone, the necessity of organizations like the one we represent today to befriend the child and champion his cause for the sake of society as a whole is apparent.

The fundamental principle on which we stand is the right of the child to his childhood—a right which any society which permits child labor transgresses. For this right embraces three others; the right of the child to be well born, his right to exemption from labor, and his right to preparation for citizenship.

The first sin against the life of the child may be committed before his birth when the expectant mother is allowed to work in close air, at night, or in cramped positions. It would be interesting indeed if those who love figures could tell us what price society has had to pay for caring for the lives brought into existence under such circumstances. The pittance earned by the mother during those months would amount to nothing compared to the cost of restraining, reforming, punishing, and remaking the child who has been denied his first right.

Granted the right to be well born, the second right of childhood is the right to be fed and clothed at the expense of others—in other words the right to exemption from labor. Where this right is recognized, we find a high social standard prevailing. Where it is denied, we say society is on a low level. The inclination to put burdens on weak shoulders, and to tax the unresisting members of the community is inherent in human nature. But nothing could be more pernicious than yielding to such an impulse. The excuse of poverty has been made for every sin from pilfering to murder and now it is advanced in favor of child labor.

If we imagine a state of society in which the adults are actually unable to feed and clothe their offspring, we foresee the certain and inevitable decline of that nation. Putting the burden of bread-winning on young and weak shoulders only hastens the ruin. The seeming gain to this state of the hundreds of children under 16 years of age at work to-day in mills and factories, in stores, and on farms is in reality a loss. What the children earn will be largely offset by what society will have to expend eventually on their care, in hospitals, asylums, poor houses, and reformatories, plus the difference in the earning power of the man who has had a happy childhood and the one who has had that right denied.

The loss to society is a financial one, but it is also an ethical one. Child labor transgresses the highest conception of parenthood. The struggle for life is the strongest motive which the physical nature of man recognizes; the struggle for the life of another is the super-strength of womanhood. The sacrifice of self for the good of the human child elevates both parents above the brute creation. But so keen is the contest for the things of the physical life, that parents will permit and even encourage child labor unless prevented by law. The backward family and the backward state have to be brought

into line with the more progressive thought of the age, in order to have social standards upheld.

It is only when children are made ineligible by law as bread-winners that the responsibility is surely thrown back where it belongs on the parents and the community. This responsibility stimulates a man's ambition and increases his energy as nothing else can do. When fully grasped it converts the drone into a worker and the half-time idler into an industrious citizen. The adults of every state ought to be given the incentive to labor that comes from the necessity of supporting themselves and their own children. Do you know a man who in middle life has sons and daughters growing up to his shoulder, and who is making a supreme struggle to keep them in school, to live in a good environment, and give them advantages which his childhood never knew? Do you notice his shoulders bent to the burden and do you foresee that he will early break under the load? Ask him if he would be relieved of the burden, and have the children go to work, and he will tell you that the pity of it is not his own hard toil, but his wasted efforts, his lack of preparation for the business of life, his many failures and misdirected childhood. In spite of these drawbacks, he is rising to meet his responsibilities and the necessity of providing for his own family is making a hero out of a plain working man.

There is then an ethical gain to the parent whose child can not or may not labor, but the greatest gain to society is of course through the child himself. That you and I are here today in health and strength of mind and body is due more than anything else to the fact that somebody recognized our rights to childhood. In our adult years, we, and society through us, are reaping the benefit of years of fostering seclusion in the home atmosphere. We are paying back to the state with interest the investment made by our parents in us. Fresh air, plenty of sleep, a happy playtime, good food, and well-directed education through the first sixteen years have made us able to cope with life's problems in adult life.

The right of the child to exemption from labor must be admitted by society before the third right of childhood can be recognized—the right to adequate preparation for citizenship. The child that is brought into the world by the will of others ought to be prepared by parents or by the community for the struggles of that life into which he has been ushered through no will of his own. Education

for life and ample time for such education is the right of every prospective citizen. Society like some boards of trustees is self-perpetuating, and chooses and trains its own successors.

We Americans of to-day owe a debt to the Americans of yesterday for our preparation for citizenship—a debt which is made payable in kind to the Americans of to-morrow. To exact labor of the next generation for the support of this generation is like using next year's dividends to pay yesterday's expenses. Children who are denied a long and happy childhood can not be well prepared for citizenship. They may be prepared to be early wage-earners, but citizenship means something more than having your name on the payroll of a great industrial plant. True citizenship means having your name on the honor roll of a great nation's servants.

Objection to the federal child labor bill is brought on the ground that the number of children actually affected by it is so small as to be really insignificant—that these children are the exception, the most needy, the poorest, the least promising for future citizenship, and that on them or their parents it would work a hardship. Society recognizes a duty to all her members, but her first duty must be to her least and most helpless member. The quarantine that keeps one case of whooping-cough out of the school is not in vain. And the child that is forced into school by the compulsory school law is just the one who needs most to be there. So the state that is most tempted to keep her children at work is the one that will benefit most from the federal child labor law.

We in North Carolina seem ready to take steps forward in industry, in commerce, in agriculture, in manufacture. "Do not deprive us at this juncture of the help of every pair of hands and feet," plead the manufacturers. But the advance that may be made at the expense of the future can be no real advance. The more children at work this year on farms and in dairies, the more grownups in the night schools a few years hence, and the more children at work in mills and factories, the more "cases" for the philanthropist of the next decade.

I believe the time has come when society is ready to recognize the rights of the child to his childhood and to accord to him the right to be well born, to be exempted from labor, and to be prepared for citizenship. The enactment of the federal child labor bill will help society in her weaker places to take this stand. If only one child

in the whole country were to be affected by it, the recognition of the great, broad principle of the rights of childhood would be of incalculable value to society.

THE EFFECT OF CHILD LABOR UPON COMMUNITY LIFE

EUNICE SINCLAIR

Field Agent in North Carolina, National Child Labor Committee

The effect of child labor upon the life of a community is as far-reaching as it is deplorable. My experience with the problem has convinced me that it not only thwarts the development of the child, but destroys the influence of the home, thus rendering impossible the existence of a sound, well-balanced, wholesomely progressive community life.

Child labor is an open violation of a natural law, which declares that no child shall do the work of a man. Now nature can neither be tricked, bribed, nor beaten, and in return for disobedience she strikes with a lash which leaves its mark on the backs of the children's children. Recently a prominent manufacturer told me, personally, that he considered cotton mill work a "good thing" for any child. There is, undoubtedly, a great difference of opinion regarding the "good things of this life," yet you and I know that even a weighty opinion from this mighty man can not save the children who work in his mill from the terrible punishment which nature will deal them.

During an investigation of the past few months I have visited some thirty cotton mills. These vary all the way from very good to very poor, so the result represents very well the average condition of our mills. Since there are over ten times this many mills in North Carolina, it is but natural to assume that there are ten times as many children at work in the cotton mills of our State this morning.

I have found 225 young children actually at work. Sixty-five of these are 14 years of age, but have been at work for a period ranging from one to seven years; 92 are 13 years old; 49 are 12; and 19 are 11 or younger. One of these 11-year-old children has been doing night work for over two years.*

* These figures represent investigations up to the end of January, 1916, only. Miss Sinclair made a later report before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce in February, 1916.

There are, of course, many reasons why night work is especially harmful. The operatives are allowed practically no recess, often not even being permitted to sit down while eating their hasty lunch, and many grown men have told me of the serious result of the strain upon their nerves and eyes. In addition the small, crowded homes afford scant opportunity for undisturbed rest during the day.

Not long ago I heard of an experience which a new night manager had in coming into a mill which employed a number of children on the night shift. He disliked this from the beginning, saying that when he thought of his own children, he could scarcely endure to look at these. A few weeks after his arrival, he received instructions to "push the children up." He refused point-blank saying, "Twelve hours night work for children is hideous anyhow." Shortly after this declaration the young man's services were found unsatisfactory and he was discharged. While many operators, both children and adults, seek this night work because "it draws better pay," many of them realize later that they also are paying a greater price.

One mother, in talking of her 16-year-old son, who had been on night work for some three years, said to me: "Johnnie, he's been a-tryin' to git off that job for goin' on a year, but seems like they can't give him nothin' else to do. He 'lows that night work has jes' about ruint him, and sometimes he can't hardly see nothin'." No doubt there are those who would declare that this is *good* for Johnnie, yet we can but wonder what kind of citizen this boy will make. There is no child living who can go through this grind and still become the kind of man God intended him to be and a life which is "jes' about ruint" has no place in the upbuilding of society.

The nature of any community is largely determined by the quality of its homes. While it is true that the average mill home is far from ideal, much progress can be made along these lines by the proper teaching of sanitation and domestic science in the schools. If, however, the child is in the mill instead of the school, how can he gain this valuable knowledge?

The school is practically his only hope, for the ceaseless grind of his daily life affords neither time nor opportunity for self-improvement. He must be up by five in the morning, hastening to the mill at six, returning for a hurried lunch at mid-day, then back again to work until six. Just at nightfall, when all over the world the fires of home are burning brightest, do we ever remember those hundreds

and thousands of little child workers who are returning home, their slender bodies aching from fatigue, their minds a blur of whirring spindles?

Often in thinking of these children I recall the case of a small girl of 13, who had been at work for three years, and seemed inordinately proud of the fact that she was "drawing" 40 cents a day. She was a pale, slight little creature, and something in her listless attitude led me to inquire if she felt ill. Her answer came faintly to me through the jarring clatter of machinery, "No ma'am—jes' tired—that's all."

And so the days pass, characterized only by their similarity, until at the age of 15—I have known of many younger cases—these children's thoughts turn to marriage. The girls are in especial need of pity here, as this is the only career which they can see open to them, and they are much influenced by the desire for some change in their system of life. A girl will marry at a distressingly early age, usually continuing to work for sometime afterward, and then enter into motherhood, as she did upon marriage, with "hands weary, feet tired, and soul oppressed."

Although living conditions are much better in some localities than in others, for I am glad to say we have a number of mill men who take an active interest in the welfare of their employees, still there is a striking uniformity in mill life. This is probably due to the fact that the people are in a large measure but re-living the lives of their parents. Of course this means entire lack of progress, but how can it ever be otherwise while we deny the children a period of time sufficient for developing a normal body, and securing a reasonable education?

It is manifestly impossible to develop a wide-awake, public-spirited citizenship, fired with pride of state and loyalty to nation, in a community where child labor is tolerated.

During the informal discussion which followed **Mrs. Eugene Reilly**, of Charlotte, N. C., Recording Secretary of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, spoke of the work the General Federation is doing in the campaign for the Keating bill. **Mrs. Allen**, President of the South Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, said that the State Board of Charities and Corrections in South Carolina was established last year as a result of the influence of the State Federation and that this year they hope to secure a training school for the feeble-minded.

Fourth Session
Miss Wald, Presiding

PAN-AMERICAN CHILD WELFARE

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.
Secretary for the Northern States, National Child Labor Committee

The topic of this conference—Safeguarding American Childhood, with the accent on *American* in its wider sense—is most appropriate for a discussion of this kind. What is our conception of the subject in its larger bearings?

The history of the two continents has been radically different in some important particulars. Latin-America was discovered and explored and its territory claimed for the King of Spain and the Church by the Conquistadores. It was later exploited by the Spanish and Portuguese fortune-seekers who were bent not upon settlement but upon getting rich quick and returning to their native land to live in comfort the rest of their days. The United States on the other hand was peopled by Europeans who deliberately cut themselves off from the old country and came here seeking new homes because of political or religious intolerance in Europe. These two distinct purposes have had a deep influence upon the subsequent development of the two continents. South American countries have kept closely in touch with Europe and have been more affected than we by European standards. Until the Spanish-American War we, in this country, were bent solely on the development of our resources and centered all our attention upon our internal affairs. Our philosophy would not let us look beyond our own borders. Now it is otherwise. We have colonies beyond the seas and require foreign markets for our products. Our interests are no longer merely local but are involved with those of many other nations.

We are beginning to cultivate closer friendships with other countries and especially with our neighbors.

Europe is now torn largely over the question of empire. North and South America once were entirely a part of European imperial domain but the spirit of independence in our peoples could not bear this submission. They fought for freedom and to-day nearly all of the two great continents are independent. This fact makes for a common interest, a bond of sympathy, among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. But there is an empire of the Occident—the empire of the child. It holds sway over the descendants of the Puritans, the Cavaliers and the Dutch burghers as it does over the descendants of the Conquistadores. For the seat of that empire is in our hearts.

With all the differences in race, language, customs and traditions, the people of the two American continents have nevertheless many things in common and one of the chief considerations upon which all of us are absolutely agreed is the welfare of children. Upon that platform we can all stand together. There is an analogy in the membership of the National Child Labor Committee. This Committee is composed of representatives of many different religions, schools of politics and schools of economy. And yet throughout the twelve years of its existence no member has ever advanced his own opinions on other matters when the welfare of children was at stake. It has been a question of child protection first, last and all the time, and individual opinions and prejudices on all other questions have been set aside in the face of this great need.

So far our relations with Latin-American countries have been confined to political and commercial fields. We are just beginning to establish cultural and intellectual relations. The recent Second Pan-American Scientific Congress held in Washington has laid a real foundation upon which we can safely build. The first was held in Chile, another proof of the broader appreciation of Latin-Americans because of their broader contact with the world.

Social welfare relations have yet to be established between the United States and Latin-America. In that field we are to-day utter strangers, although it is the very field in which there could not fail to be the greatest fund of sympathy and mutual support. The principles of child welfare are the same in South and Central America as in North America. Forty years ago Pérez Galdós, one of the

great Spanish authors, in writing of conditions in a mining community where unfortunate children were exploited, said, "We see a multitude of wretched little creatures lacking everything appropriate to childhood, from parents to playthings, and yet it never occurs to us to take them away from stupefying mechanical work and give them education. Asylums are not enough to solve the great problem of orphanage. There will be relief from so great an evil only when custom, supported by law, gives to every orphan, no matter what its origin may have been, the right to enter a happy home and enjoy a normal childhood. Then there will be no parents without children and no children without parents." Surely this reveals the common ground upon which we stand.

A generous spirit of service and good will rings in the invitation to the people of the United States to attend the First Pan-American Child's Congress, to be held in the Argentine next July. The Argentinians' funds for the purpose are small but their hearts are big, and the carpet of welcome will be spread for all Americans. The fact that it has remained for the people of our sister continent to take the initiative in bringing together the forces that stand for the welfare of the child in this hemisphere is a sign of the times and brings home to us our isolation in matters of the larger application of social principles. Just as we used to limit our commercial and political horizon to our own borders, so has our conception of social welfare been confined. The president of the Argentine Congress makes a strong appeal to the people of the United States in these words: "Our Executive Committee is counting upon the presence of Americans interested in philanthropy and social work to discuss important problems of child welfare. This international American Congress will serve as a new bond of union and fraternity among the nations of North and South America, and the Executive Committee hopes for this reason that the meetings in Buenos Aires will be as impressive as possible. No efforts will be spared to accomplish this purpose, in spite of limited resources and the many difficulties of all kinds encountered in this period of moral depression so observable everywhere. The Committee counts especially upon representatives of philanthropic societies and other students of social conditions capable of aiding the local propaganda, although it is very difficult to obtain a sufficient number of names and addresses to enable us to plan a program of joint action."

Let us accept this invitation in the spirit in which it is offered. If it is not possible to attend the Congress, let each society and organization address a letter of appreciation to its president expressing our interest and wishing the movement success.

Dr. Clopper was followed by **Mrs. A. C. Ligon**, of Orangeburg, South Carolina, who spoke on Child Labor and Women's Clubs. She said in part:

"In my opinion every national organization of women, backed of course by state and club initiative, should have as one of its primal obligations the support of a federal child labor law. Second, it should give financial aid to the promotion of this law and its effectual enforcement through the National Child Labor Committee. In seeking information on this subject I find that almost every state organization of women is backing state laws, which is good and proper, but they do not seem to have entirely awakened to the crying need of a federal law. The club women throughout the United States need proper information from proper sources. Would it be expecting too much that at least one well-informed woman, of course with sufficient compensation, should represent the National Child Labor Committee at all national, and as many as possible state conferences of women's organizations laying before them all the needs and claims of this work?

"I have carefully read Dr. McKelway's report of the enforcement of the laws in the southern states. Throughout all the power of enforcement seems inadequate. Louisiana as a whole suffers from the prevailing discrepancies but I find very encouraging reference to the condition in New Orleans, which, he states, has reached a very high standard of law enforcement through the efforts of Miss Jean Gordon, first factory inspector. What does this argue? Give us a chance. Make your laws but put the women back of them and you shall find that 'Tis toil's reward that sweetens industry.' "

The Chairman: Another telegram has been received which Mr. Lovejoy will read.

Telegram

"We know of no commonwealth that takes upon itself the burden of family support. We do not advocate child labor but can not conform to the arbitrary standards set by you. A district attorney of Pennsylvania has testified that the law you forced on his state has caused great suffering among those who are refused employment and has forced some into immoral lives. There is no word in the Keating bill that makes it apply to work done in New York tenement houses although Congressman Webb asked that it be amended to include same. What word makes it so apply?"

To this the following reply was sent:

"Twenty states have mothers' pension laws for needy families. Pennsylvania cry is false alarm. Workshop covers tenement."

The Chairman then introduced **Mr. Barrett**, of the Asheville Typographical Union, who was the next speaker.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND CHILD LABOR REFORM

JAMES F. BARRETTTypographical Union, Asheville, N. C.

Organized Labor's attitude toward child labor is well known. It can well be compared to the attitude of organized bankers toward the loan shark, as it bears upon the financial element of legitimate business; or it may be compared to the attitude of the organized doctors of medicine toward the quack doctor, when the question of health is touched upon. And as to the law which permits child labor in uninspected mills, Organized Labor has for that statute the same undisguised contempt which the organized lawyers have for the shyster who disgraces their profession.

As to the great question of human interest which is involved, I can not tell you Organized Labor's attitude toward child labor. I do not command the language to fittingly describe to you the pride of the man who, with nothing but his skill and his membership in Organized Labor, wrests from the world a comfortable living for his wife and babies. We can but draw a picture of him as he sits at the head of his table, and watches with glowing love the happy, well-fed family enjoying the fruits of his labor. His heart bleeds with sympathy for other children, as he utters a fervent prayer that he may live until his own children are grown up; that he may continue to provide for them so that they may never, during their youth, have to answer the call of the morning whistle. For he knows, and you know, and the world knows, that no child whose father is a member of Organized Labor is forced to answer the early call of the factory whistle.

Organized Labor of North Carolina regrets the fact that our state has been so laggard in making laws which would protect her children. It is true that some of our legislators have worked hard for the passage of such measures. But that wee, small voice—an almost inaudible whisper—in the lobby of the legislative halls, has carried sufficient force and power and influence to set at naught the cry of childhood. Therefore, our state having failed us, we welcome the work of the National Child Labor Committee. We feel that your service is great, and that your reward will be greater.

And in your support of the Keating child labor bill, you have the genuine cooperation of Organized Labor.

The fight for and against this bill in the House of Congress has proven a constant source of surprises and disappointments. Men whose brilliancy was thought to be a reflection of their love for humanity have made searchlights of that brilliancy, and turned its rays upon the mill owners, to find and to show to the world the big-heartedness of the men who work the little children. But in a struggle like this, men must be forgotten, and the measure be made the paramount issue. For there are measures which outweigh men; there are principles bigger than political parties; there is a love as strong as life. Next to my own three little girls standing around my feet; above all political parties and political possibilities imaginable to the mind; above the valued friendship of real friends; above loyalty to lodges and affiliation to my church; above and nearer than all that—next to my own babes—stand the children of my fellow workingmen of North Carolina, of the South, and of the United States.

Yet we are more sorry than words can express that this insurmountable difference of opinion on this vital question has arisen between representatives and those represented. An official's duty in Washington is no more sacred than a layman's duty at home. And it is not only the duty of Organized Labor to champion the cause of child labor legislation, but it is our earnest desire to be instrumental in bringing it about.

Organized Labor confesses its utter lack of knowledge concerning the constitutional power of the national Congress. We frankly admit that we do not understand how the national government can control, through interstate commerce, many products of labor, yet can not reach out a helping hand to the laborer. Neither can we understand how the federal government can prohibit North Carolina labor from boycotting Danbury-made hats, and yet the same government can not lay a restraining finger upon employers of child labor in our state. It is also beyond our power to understand how the federal government could invade states' rights, and at the cost of a million white men killed and wounded, set at liberty the negro slaves, who were then not even citizens of this country, and yet the same government can not lift the burden of modern slavery from the shoulders of little American citizens, as such much more

entitled to the protection of this national government than were the negroes.

The work of this Committee, the proposed legislation, in fact all agitation, the purpose of which is to protect children in their tender years, is accomplishing great results. Each is a link in the chain which, when completed, will produce the only possible solution of the child labor question. For I respectfully submit to you the statement that the ultimate, the real, the satisfactory solution to the child labor question will be reached when Organized Labor fills the positions in the factories, the mills and the mines. When all operatives, in all sections, are working under the direction of one national head, and that national body is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, then, and not until then, will an actual, absolute solution of the question be found.

And why shouldn't it be so? In other branches of industry where business-like agreements are made between capital and labor, both sides are benefited. In my opinion it will not be long until the day arrives when Organized Labor will also be doing the work for the mill owners. And when it is once in operation, the most agreeably surprised people of all concerned will be the employers themselves. Let the mill owners for one year deal with Organized Labor, and they could not be induced to go back to unorganized. We make no statement which we can not prove. Ask any employer of Organized Labor in this state if he would go back to the slipshod days of unorganized labor. Then ask any member of this Committee if they have ever been called upon to rescue a child whose father carries a working card.

And when Organized Labor fills the positions in the mills and the factories, then the mill children can answer the call of their kind, and harken to the voice of the fairies, which should lead all children through the fields, the flowers and the sunshine—God's own gifts to little children.

The attitude of Organized Labor was further expressed by **Mr. George L. Berry**, of Tennessee, President of the International Pressmen's Union, who said in part:

"I submit that in the four million men and women organized in this country you have a militant organization, active not only in agitation for the upbuilding of the economic condition of the adult laborer which will result in the elimination of the child from the workshop, but active in the matter of voting and demanding an answer from those who do not live up to the claims of humanity in Congress

and the legislatures. The time has come when we must let public servants know that we have our eye upon them. It is good to conciliate, it is fine to be pleasant, it is nice to be diplomatic, but when a program has been known to the American people as long as the program for the elimination of children from the factory, and an intelligent Congressman or Senator votes against it, it becomes a duty to leave that gentleman at home to a peaceful, harmless existence. I do not believe that the Senate will hesitate in the matter of the Keating bill after the splendid majority in the lower House. But if they do, I shall be one who will be found ready to give them a vacation.

"That is what you must do. You have to elect servants that will properly perform their duties. When the Keating bill was being debated in the House, a Congressman from the cotton district of Tennessee said, 'This is a fight between humanity and greed, and I vote with humanity.' It is time the working men and women, no matter what their party, should declare themselves in sympathy with humanity. Set aside your politics and select the man to represent you who first thinks of humanity and only next of dollars and cents. If you want dollars-and-cents Congressmen, send them to Washington. But if you want to elevate the human family, to make better conditions for men and women and society as a whole, then elect men and send them to Washington, who stand for humanity and not for dollars and cents."

The last speaker of the evening was *Miss Eschenbrenner*, Membership Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

THE CITIZEN AND THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

JOSEPHINE J. ESCHENBRENNER

Membership Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

"The country's future, with its blessings or its misfortunes, with its happiness or its misery, its progress or its decadence, depends upon all of us, and it depends upon each one of us." Thus does a statesman measure the duties of citizenship. National welfare depends largely upon giving each and every child opportunity for success. And so it devolves upon the citizen to afford each child a fair chance to attain those qualities which make for success. If, instead of opportunity, oppression is the lot of the child, whether by labor in mine or mill, sweatshop or cannery, then all the more must there be aroused to action the moral sense of the citizen.

Is it unreasonable to assume that in a country which has felt so keenly the cruelties enacted across the waters that millions of

dollars have been donated for relief of the war sufferers—is it unreasonable to assume, I ask, that there should be found in that country at least twenty thousand citizens who would rally to the support of the effort to save their own children from the cruelties of child labor, if they were aware of existing conditions?

The conflict against child labor in the United States has not been won in eleven years' arduous work of the National Child Labor Committee because there has not been a sufficient number of men and women who fully realized that the National Committee is the embodiment of the citizen in his love for the child, for justice, for humanity, for the struggle against cruel motives and ignorance. They have not clearly known and understood its aim to disclose to the citizen, as his agent, the actual evils of child labor, and to study ways and means by which these evils can be practicably abolished for the good of all concerned.

Not until the conscience of every good citizen is aroused and his protest voiced and acted out will it be impossible to find cases of man's inhumanity to man like that of 12-year-old Bessie whose family I recently visited in their tenement home of two rooms. The mother and three children of 8, 10 and 12 worked at men's garter clasps. They pulled one end of a piece of tape through the opening in the clasp, the other through the two openings of the button over which the clasp was to fasten, then stitched the ends together on the sewing machine. Two hundred and eighty-eight clasps they completed in this way. Through 144 more buttons intended for the side attachment on the garter, they pulled 144 more pieces of tape. And for all this work they received 20 cents. The children together could earn this in three hours. The mother said they worked until 9, 10 or 11 at night. After the younger children had confided to me their ambitions, I asked Bessie what she "wanted to be." She took time from her work only to say, "I don't want to be anything any more; I just make garters."

The expression in the face of the Christ in the Phillips Brooks statue at Trinity Square, Boston, has been interpreted as pain and regret that one who was stirred into penning words of truth did not have the strength to make many more see as he saw. The problem of the National Child Labor Committee in this twelfth year of its existence, is to make the good citizen see, *feel*, the problem of child labor as the Committee sees it.

Through letter and lecture, pamphlet, newspaper and magazine story, exhibit and slide, we have endeavored to bring the story of the laboring child close to the hearts of men. The financial difficulty to meet the cost of this and of the necessary investigations and actual legislative work, has always been a serious drawback. Nine thousand men and women have shared in the effort by joining our membership of \$2, \$5, \$25 or \$100 or more; but this number is less than one-half what it should be to enable us to conduct the campaign effectively.

To all who read, we make the plea for more help: in suggesting names for possible new members; in distributing our pamphlets; in securing engagements for our lecturers; in placing our stories in the newspapers of their localities; in displaying our exhibits at conferences and meetings; in renting our slides; in following out any other lines that may suggest themselves for making the work known.

No effort can be too big, none too small when 2,000,000 children are concerned. Only through such effort can we band together the majority of determined citizens needed to help impress upon state legislatures and Congress their conviction of the moral injustice involved. Let them put their shoulder to the wheel, especially this year, and give it that momentum necessary to carry safely through the present Congress the Keating-Owen federal child labor bill. Not only will the child profit, but the manufacturer and the consumer, for they all form the Nation and have their share in its prosperity; and there can be no prosperity where the Nation pays in terms of shrunken bodies, benumbed hearts and crippled intellects.

Fifth Session

Mr. Lovejoy, Presiding

The session was devoted to an informal discussion of recent investigations and local child labor problems. **Dr. Clopper** was called on first for a report on the Committee's recent investigations into the employment of children in agriculture, particularly in the sugar-beet fields of Colorado.

COLORADO BEET-WORKERS

Dr. Clopper said: "We have been undertaking some isolated investigations of child labor in agriculture because it is a subject about which we know very little although the 1910 Census reports that almost 72% of all the children between 10 and 15 years of age engaged in gainful occupations in the United States are in agricultural pursuits and that 18% of them or 260,000 are farm laborers working for others than their own parents.

"In a recent study of the employment of children in the cultivation of sugar beets in Colorado we found an interesting situation. There are about 5,000 children between 6 and 15 working in the beet-fields, practically all of them with their own parents. These children of course are under the compulsory education law of Colorado which requires them to attend school 9 months, but as the school system is organized on the district plan the local truant officer does not always enforce the law because he would be required to prosecute his own friends and immediate neighbors. The remedy seems to lie in a larger unit of organization that would remove enforcement outside the immediate locality.

"We found that the beet-working children were kept out of school for about three months in the fall and lose about three and a half times as many days of school as the non-beet-workers. This makes it impossible for the teachers to do the same work with them as the other children and hence the beet-workers were found to be very much retarded."

The Chairman next called on **Mr. Urick**, Commissioner of Labor from Iowa, to report on the operation of the new child labor law as it affects canneries.

IOWA CANNERIES

Mr. Urick said: "In the passage of the first child labor act an extension was made in the interest of the canneries, not in the age limit, but in the number of hours they could work the children. However, the Labor Commissioner at that time, acting under the advice of the Attorney General's staff, interpreted the law to mean a complete exemption. When I became Commissioner in 1913 the matter was referred again to the Attorney General and he decided that the child labor law did apply to the canneries except for the hours of labor. The canners had all made their arrangements for the year so no attempt was made to enforce the law during that season although one manager when told by the inspector that the law would apply in the future, said: 'Come right in. Here are 14 children and you can't take them out too quick; they are a nuisance. We have to have the labor of adults, and to get them we have been compelled to employ children.' During the following season when the 14-year age limit was enforced we had no trouble with the canners. Out of the entire number there were only two or three objections to the law.

"During the last session of the legislature the child labor law was amended abolishing all exemptions for canneries and establishing the same standards as for manufacturing establishments including the 8-hour day. We were seriously delayed in preparing for the application of the law, getting the necessary blanks, and so forth, but even then out of the entire number of canneries only one openly violated the law, due to my illness, and I am willing to guarantee that he will not violate the law again without penalty."

Short speeches were made by **Mr. Hilles**, of Cincinnati, and **Mr. Drown**, of the federal Children's Bureau.

The Chairman then called on the **Rev. Peter E. Dietz**, of Hot Springs, N. C., secretary of the Social Service Commission of Catholic Societies.

TRADE UNIONISM

Mr. Dietz said: "There is no reason why any child should be employed in any factory, workshop or other industry under any

condition. It is a question of the dollar versus humanity and we can get along without the industries that depend upon child labor for prosperity. When we talk so much about humanity it seems almost a farce that many employers have so little idea of the sacredness of human life. But since all people do not accept these principles there must be agitation and intimidation and we must depend upon the trade union movement for that. I have come to the conclusion that seven-eighths of all the social problems are the problems of trade unionism, particularly because it preserves the principle of individual liberty. The less legislation you have the better, provided you can get the right conditions without it, but we should never take away from the individual the responsibility of legislating for himself."

COTTON MANUFACTURERS

The next speaker called on was **Mr. Hudson C. Millar**, of Charlotte, N. C., secretary-treasurer of the Southern Cotton Manufacturers' Association.

Mr. Millar said: "I am here to study something of your movement because I am in sympathy with it although I am opposed to some of the things which you do and sometimes to the extent to which you go. Legislation is a way to correct evil but the best way is by education. I would go with you as far as you like in compulsory education and so would the men I represent. But I am opposed to the Keating bill. It would be a federal regulation of production under the interstate commerce clause, and although I shall not attempt to enter into a discussion of the constitutionality of the bill, I do not believe that the federal government has the right to regulate production because commerce begins only where production ceases. There are one or two other things about the Keating bill I do not think fair. One of these is placing the burden of proof as to the age of the children upon the employer, for he has no way of proving it. Another is that the cotton industry is not ready for the 8-hour day nor for the 16-year age limit. The men I represent have as much interest in children as you have and I believe the time will come when we shall at least approach the standard you set. The chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Manufacturers' Association resigned because he was directed to make arrangements for operating at night and he would not work children

at night. But he is opposed to this bill. I believe the Weaver bill would have passed last year if it had not had the 8-hour clause in it.

"It is said that the cotton manufacturers always oppose child labor bills and that no other employers do. The majority of the cotton manufacturers are endeavoring to do welfare work that the men in no other industry are attempting. We do not have tenement houses in the South and the cotton manufacturer has to build houses. They have built schools and playgrounds. It is true that the children who work in the mills do not have time to play there but the other children in the village do. You know the people who work in the mills do not always place their children in the mill to work. They only do it when it is necessary. I could give you instances where the law is being violated but those conditions exist because of necessity. This state has not the institutions to care for these children. We have not the wealthy men to endow them, and at the present time we are not prepared to meet the standards set in the Keating bill."

Mrs. Kelley asked **Mr. Millar** the following questions:

1. If the North Carolina manufacturers favor education why have they not put all the mill children under the legal age in school?
2. If they do not want federal legislation, why have they opposed state legislation?
3. Why are North Carolina manufacturers incapable of enduring the 8-hour day for children and the 14-year age limit?

At the suggestion of **Mr. Swift**, **Mr. Millar** answered the questions in writing after the conference. His answers are:

"1. The question presupposes the right to exercise control, but the manufacturers have no such right or control. They encourage all parents to send their children to school before and as long as possible after the legal age. Many at their own expense have erected buildings, and give the mill children better buildings, equipment, teachers and longer school terms than those afforded to and by adjacent or surrounding communities.

"The present compulsory school law was initiated by the cotton manufacturers and had the unanimous support of the manufacturers of the state. They know that better education means a higher degree of skill and better work, a more excellent product.

"2. The question takes it for granted that the cotton manufacturers oppose both federal and state legislation. This is, of course, not true.

"They oppose the Keating-Owen child labor bill because:

"First: This bill is so drawn so as to affect almost no one in our section except cotton mills.

"There are in the State of North Carolina alone about 84,279 children working at gainful occupations. Of these only 4,623 are employed in the cotton industry. I ask, what of the other 79,656 working children of this state who are left at their labor untouched by this bill? Add to this the hundreds of thousands of working children in other Southern States not employed in cotton mills. Doesn't the bill seem to be directed solely at the cotton industry?*

"By some it is claimed that the tenement house abuses of New York and elsewhere are included within the term "workshop," but this is only a theory, and who for a moment can sanely suppose that a man's home, however humble and poor, in which he and his family work can be called by a court of competent and final jurisdiction, a workshop? Could it be taxed as a workshop? Also your attention is called to the fact that an amendment to this bill was presented to the House in Congress, which named and directly included tenement houses, and this amendment was defeated.

* The Census figures for North Carolina, part of which Mr. Millar has given, are as follows:

Children 10-13: all gainful occupations, 84,279; manufacturing and mechanical, 6,344 (of whom 4,000, as Mr. Millar says, are in cotton mills); agriculture, 74,080.

Children 14-15: all gainful occupations, 60,353; manufacturing and mechanical, 8,475 (of whom 5,158 are in cotton mills); agriculture, 46,727.

The National Child Labor Committee is as sorry as Mr. Millar that the children engaged in agriculture and other non-manufacturing pursuits are not affected by the federal bill, but there seems to be no way of touching those children through the regulation of interstate commerce. The regulation of the employment of these children through state legislation is one of the lines of work in which the Committee is now engaged. But, in regard to the federal bill, Mr. Millar must admit that, according to the Census, there are 14,819 children in North Carolina, of whom 9,161 are in cotton mills, who will be affected by its passage.

If most of the children in North Carolina affected by the bill are in cotton mills, it is because in that state cotton mills employ more children than any other manufacturing industry. *In the whole country only one-fifth of the total number of children affected by the bill are in cotton mills.* Does that look as if the bill were aimed at the cotton industry?—Editor.

"Second: We know it harms woefully the individuals it purports to conserve.

"The children that find employment in southern cotton mills do so either because of needy parents or other unfortunate circumstances. It is absolutely necessary for them to gain a livelihood and in the cotton mill these children earn higher wages and find less dangerous (shown by lower insurance rates) and more congenial work than elsewhere. This bill simply takes away the opportunity to make a fair living, substitutes this by nothing else and, therefore, forces the child here into more arduous labor at less money, to the street or to charity. It simply cripples; deprives the child, and many times a family, of their best chance to better themselves.

"Third: The resources, interests, people and conditions of each state are so diversified that the people of each state are better able to determine under what individual regulations they should live and work—'Of the People, for the People, by the People.'

"The work and conditions under which people of these United States work differ in every section and in almost every state. The people of North Carolina have very little first hand information of the working conditions of Indiana, Colorado, or Oklahoma. The converse is also true. It can not be denied that the people of Massachusetts know better how to regulate their own working conditions than the South Carolina Congressmen. What is true of Massachusetts is true of every other state.

"This matter is one to be controlled through compulsory education and other means by each state alone.

"Fourth: We believe that the Keating-Owen Bill is unconstitutional, therefore, an invasion of personal liberty.

"It would require too much space and time to discuss even briefly the unconstitutionality of the proposed act. Sufficeth to say that this bill proposes to regulate production. The manufacture or method of manufacture is not production. An article does not become commerce until delivered for shipment, and certainly no process of manufacture is found in shipment. Congress *has only* those powers granted it by the states. It has the power to regulate commerce between the states, but has certainly no power to regulate production. An attempt to pass the bill, therefore, is an effort to

do indirectly, through the commerce clause, that which it is admitted it can not do directly. If this can be done, hasn't the last vestige of the right of a state to the control or regulation of its citizens, even in the most personal affair, been torn from the state and vested in the federal Congress? Can not Congress then say to the great State of New York, you can not ship in the channels of interstate commerce any article in the manufacture of which any labor, other than American labor has been used, or any equally absurd requirement?

"This is why we oppose the attempted federal legislation.

"In this state no legislation that is equitable and just has ever been opposed by North Carolina cotton manufacturers. They have favored a proper regulation and restriction.

"3. This isn't a question of endurance. They endure many things such as incorrect statements and unwarranted attacks. It is a question of practicability and what is best under any given conditions."

At the conference **Mr. Millar** said in regard to the 8-hour day: "The cotton mill man of the South is opposed to the 8-hour day production for financial reasons. A hundred thousand dollars in the South represents a great deal more than a hundred thousand dollars in the North. A man with two or three million dollars in the South is very wealthy; such a man in the North is not a very wealthy man. Cotton mills have been operating in years past, 12 hours per day. They came down to 10 hours, and they have not yet been educated to the point of 8 hours. The contracts they have made and are carrying out run two or three years back, and are based on the 10-hour production in many cases. They can not fill these contracts in an 8-hour day. We have had difficulties in the matter of freight rates. And our difficulty in the 10-hour day production has been that we have not had the skilled labor in the South that the North has. We can not make the same thread, can not make thread of the fineness they can, and only in the 10-hour day we can compete with them on the cheaper grade of stock." *

Mrs. Murdoch: I must protest against Mr. Millar's statement that the cotton industry is the only one doing welfare work. There

* The North Carolina mills run on a 60-hour week schedule: 11 hours the first five days and 5 hours on Saturday.

is scarcely a large industry throughout Alabama that is not doing splendid welfare work. As a matter of fact they are spending many times more in the steel industry for the welfare of the people than in the cotton industry.

Mrs. T. M. Dillingham, of Marlboro, New Hampshire, was the next speaker called upon. She said: "Employers in New Hampshire are finding more and more that the services of children under 16 are unprofitable so that it is becoming the practice for the children to remain in school. In an inspection of 238 establishments in Manchester we found 93 children over the age of 14 and under 16. Three years ago there were 328 children in 120 establishments. A report recently received from Claremont, a textile town of 7,500 inhabitants, shows only one child under 16 employed in 13 establishments visited. These conditions are typical of the child labor situation all over the state."

STAGE CHILDREN

Mr. Urick: "I should like to get some information as to means of enforcing child labor laws, particularly as they affect children on the stage. Our new law provides that children under 14 may not be employed in places of amusement, nor under 16 at night. How are the cases regulated in cities where children between 14 and 16 are permitted to appear in the daytime? In travelling companies where can they get their permit? What have been the results in states having such laws?"

Mrs. Murdoch: "We do not allow children under 16 to appear on the stage or in a house of amusement of any kind in Alabama and we have had some interesting experiences in enforcing the law. In Montgomery the state laws have been enacted into the city code so that the policemen have the authority to stop any theatrical performance. But in other cities it is usually necessary for the Child Labor Committee to take the matter up with the sheriff."

Mrs. Falconer: "One of the most difficult things is the matter of public opinion. A good many girls have come to me who have taken part in 'Amateur Nights.' Of course this ought not to be permitted, but is it fair to prohibit the employment of children in such theatres if public opinion continues to endorse the appearance of children in plays like *Peter Pan* and the *Bluebird*? We ought

not to try to enforce a law for the low theatres, if we are not going to enforce it for the better ones. Many people believe in employing children on the stage, yet Otis Skinner whose wife has been on the stage, confessed he would not want his own daughter to be on the stage, but was willing for others to be there."

Mr. White; Superintendent of Union Bethel Settlement, Cincinnati: "We have a very effective juvenile protective association which, in cooperation with the juvenile court judge, has been very successful in obtaining prosecutions for violations of the stage law."

MOVING PICTURE COMPANIES

Mrs. Kelley: "Our New York stage law is very poor, providing simply that a child of any age may appear with a permit from the mayor. The mayor acts on the recommendation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children but as the Society has grown more stringent the mayor has grown more lax and has granted permits for children of four and a half and all ages over that. The situation in the moving picture business is even more serious and the Child Labor Committee at its last meeting voted to attempt to bring the studios under the stage law. We were moved to do this as a result of an investigation by an agent of the Committee who reported a series of cruelties to children in the preparation of moving pictures. One was the presence of a little child of six weeks old in its mother's arms on a day so hot that three adults were overcome, and the baby fainted three or four times. In another case, a child was thrown from a boat into the bay the child having had the assurance given to it that it would be rescued. It was a cold day in November. The child contracted pleurisy, followed by nervous prostration, and was ill in bed at the time of our meeting. Another child was put in a chest—obliged to jump into it, and have the top closed upon it. This child was shown that there were holes in the chest to allow the air in, but its one horror was of not being able to get out. That child has been horror-stricken ever since. Another case was of some children who were put on cork lily pads floating about on the water—children from 4 years old down. Some of the children were very frightened."

Mr. Lovejoy then read another telegram from the Southern Textile Association:

"Do not dodge the issue. Living rooms of a tenement can not be classified as workshops and it was admitted upon the floor of the House that the Keating bill did not prohibit tenement house work. If you are sincere in your contention consult any Asheville lawyer. Mr. Keating and Chairman Lewis of Maryland voted against making the Keating bill apply to little children who work long hours in the oyster and fishing industries of Maryland. You refused to put into the bill anything to prohibit the working of young newsboys or messenger boys. The suffering and immorality caused by the law you forced on Pennsylvania is no false alarm and it does not lay in your mouth to speak of false alarms. The fact that twenty states have mothers' pension laws does not relieve the suffering of those in other states who would be refused honest employment under the arbitrary standard which you in your wisdom would fix for us. You even go so far as to arbitrarily say that the mill operatives can not distribute the total hours per week so as to have vacation on Saturday afternoon. We do not believe in child labor but are better qualified than you to define child labor."

After some discussion it was decided to telegraph Mr. Carter of the Textile Association that if he would send his address information on the disputed points would be sent him by mail.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY

Mr. Richard K. Conant, Secretary of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, next spoke on the operation of the 8-hour day in Massachusetts. He said in part:

"The 8-hour day for children under 16 has been in operation in Massachusetts for two and a half years. It is no longer a subject of argument, it is an accepted principle. No suggestion to repeal it has been made since 1914. At that time all the statements about its impracticability and about the hardship, idleness, and crime which it was alleged to have caused were thoroughly investigated by a legislative committee and again investigated by a state board and thoroughly discredited. After debate in both branches of the legislature the law was sustained by an overwhelming vote.

"We are now beginning a constructive campaign to secure the full value of this 8-hour law and the other child labor laws—to show their real purpose and to secure the results which we all have in

mind in working for such legislation. The real purpose of child labor legislation is constructive. When the statutes are treated merely as prohibitions and only the letter of them is enforced, the greatest value of child labor reform has not been accomplished. Of course the limitation to 8 hours a day of itself accomplishes something but that negative value is small compared with the chance which is given for building up the health and intelligence of the children.

"The hours gained must be used. The children must be connected with the best available opportunities for organized recreation and part-time schooling. Where these opportunities do not exist they must be developed. All the other child labor laws very quickly come into the program—the statutes which provide educational requirements, age limits in dangerous trades, night work restrictions. These statutes are phrased as negative prohibitions and yet they are principally valuable when their positive side is put into effect—when, using them, an attempt is made to educate young workers, to guide them into occupations for which they are well fitted physically, to provide for them healthful work, intelligently directed, so that they may become strong, efficient workmen instead of weak, unskilled laborers.

"To put such a constructive program of child labor reform into operation we must secure and we already are securing the cooperation of employers, employees and all kinds of existing organizations. We believe that they will cooperate to secure the full value of the 8-hour law and the other child labor laws. We believe that communities must soon come to realize that the value of these statutes is not secured merely by enacting them. The laws are tools which in order to fulfill their purpose must be used, and their real purpose is the building of workmen and citizens."

Mr. Douglas P. Falconer, Secretary of the New Jersey Child Labor Committee followed Mr. Conant with an address on New Jersey's experience with the 8-hour day. He said:

"We have been operating under the 8-hour law since July 4, 1914. There was little opposition to the passage of the law from the manufacturers of the state for the Manufacturers' Association of New Jersey declined to go on record against it, although certain members felt that they should do so. A week ago, after the law had been in effect a year and a half, I talked with the secretary of the Manufacturers' Association and he told me that the industries

have never been more prosperous than they are at present, that the enforcement of the law has in no way interfered with their prosperity.

"The experience of one of the large woolen mills in Camden is interesting. They employ five gangs of doffers. Formerly there were eight boys in a gang, seven of whom received \$3.60 a week, and one, the leader, \$3.75, so that the total weekly wage for the gang was \$28.25. Since the law went into effect they have not employed any boys under 16 and find that six boys can do the work formerly done by eight. Five of the boys receive \$5 and one \$5.25. The total weekly wage is \$30.25, an increase of \$2 per gang or \$10 a week for five gangs. In return for this very slight increase in outlay the employer has older, steadier and more intelligent help.

"As evidence of the attitude of employers, the following extract from a letter written by an attendance officer in Passaic, one of the large manufacturing centers, is interesting: 'Today we find employers cooperating with the Department and notifying us of the discharge and employment of children. There is no hardship upon the textile manufacturers in our city or in the vicinity. If any manufacturer is ready to violate this 8-hour provision there are others ready to notify us of the violation, as they firmly believe that this law should be strictly enforced. The law, as it is, has made a great difference in the health and growth of children. I find that many textile operators in this city feel that it would be a blessing if the women were also given the 8-hour working day.'

"The employment of children in glass industries has been a vexing problem not only with us but in other states. The testimony of one of our bottle manufacturers is interesting. Before the passage of both the night work and the 8-hour day provisions he was bitterly opposed to such legislation, saying that his business would be ruined, etc. In a recent conversation, when asked about his former attitude, he said: 'Forget it. I wouldn't have a kid around my place. They're bad business. We get along better without them.'

"The enforcement of our child labor laws is being accomplished in part by an indirect method. Under the Employers' Liability Law employers are financially responsible for the injuries their employees sustain in the course of their work and the indemnity companies offer insurance to all employers, but include in the contract the following clause: 'This policy shall not apply to personal injuries or death suffered by, or caused by any person

employed by the assured *in violation of the law.*' Hence if the employer has children in his establishment contrary to law he is running not only the risk of being prosecuted for the offense and having his establishment declared a disorderly house, but—and this comes closer to the pocketbooks and consequently to the hearts of some of our business men—he runs the risk of financial loss caused by the carelessness and negligence of little children, and this risk he is unwilling to take.

"Only one of the many New Jersey employers with whom I have corresponded and talked wished to go back to the old law, and he was prosecuted three times by the Department of Labor for failing to live up to the provisions of the former law. The others all feel that we have taken a step forward and that the New Jersey provisions should be made nation-wide.

"We have still to meet the problems of the employment of children on the cranberry bogs, in street trades and in their own homes but these are minor problems with us. Child labor as it was formerly known in New Jersey is no more and we feel that we have reason to be proud, not only because we have protected our children and have given them at last the opportunity that should always have been theirs, but we have also demonstrated that child labor, under conditions existing in New Jersey, is not a necessary factor in manufacturing."

An invitation to meet in Niagara Falls in 1917 was extended to the conference by **Mr. Max Amberg** of that city. This invitation was filed by the secretary with several others which had been received.

Sixth Session

Dr. Lindsay, Presiding

TWO CONCEPTIONS OF CHILD EMPLOYMENT

WILEY H. SWIFT

Secretary for the Carolinas, National Child Labor Committee

So far as I have heard no one seems to favor the working of young children. Whether it be a member of Congress from a manufacturing district, a North Carolina Senator, himself a manufacturer on the Committee of Manufacturers in North Carolina, a school superintendent from a cotton mill town, or a superintendent of a mill with several children in his employ, all agree that child labor is a fact to be deplored. It is true that we have lately heard a manufacturer say that he thinks 11 or 12 hours' work for children none too much and that boys may well be put to work at the age of 12. It is true that we have lately heard an ex-Governor of North Carolina declare that work in a dust-laden, lint-filled cotton mill is most suitable for young children. It is also true that we have seen during the past years men fight for the right to work children. Still every one deploras the fact, or at least those who speak out say that they deplore it.

The difference in the two conceptions of child employment, therefore, turns on the matter of whether we shall deplore it and permit it to continue, or whether we shall deplore it and by the enactment and enforcement of proper laws put it at an end.

It is not unfair, because it is true, to say that the conception of those who deplore and are opposed to the employment of young children but at the same time fight any attempt to restrict or regulate such employment may be best stated by the use of a series of *BUTS*.

One, and a leading newspaper in North Carolina, is of this class, is opposed to child labor, *but* believes that a 16-year-old boy is quite

old enough to work. As if any law had been suggested which would forbid a 16-year-old boy working in a proper place at suitable work for a reasonable number of hours! To put it plainly, this *but* seems to me to grow out of either a deliberate refusal to know what may be easily learned, or worse, a deliberate but somewhat skillful evasion of the main question by pretending not to know.

Another, and some of our members of Congress belong to this class, are opposed to child labor *but* want to leave the matter to be regulated by the different states. No one has any right to question the honesty of the views of any member of Congress upon constitutional matters. This fact is, however, most significant. We have been discussing these very matters in the different states. It would have been easy for these members of Congress to have suggested better state laws. Their bare suggestion would have had great weight. So far as I know, but one member of Congress, who has so far actively opposed the federal child labor bill, Mr. Britt, has raised a hand in support of state laws.

Another, and this one represents a large class, deplors child labor and is opposed to it *but* he thinks that there ought to be no change in the laws so that the country people, especially the mountain folk, may move to the mill in order to educate their children. Even if there were no figures, it would be clear to a simple mind that the child in the mill can not be in the school. All the figures in North Carolina show that it is the country child, and not the mill child, who attends school. A brick schoolhouse with patent desks does perhaps bring some help to a girl standing at the spinning-frame and to the small boy doffing away as hard as he can, but it must be evident that this is teaching at fearfully long range. True, teacher and pupil sometimes come closer together in the night school, but 11 hours' work indoors is certainly not the best preparation for schooling on the self-same day.

Still another is opposed to child labor *but* he has taken a place where one white and two negro families lived and has built up a town of four or five thousand inhabitants and has ditched and drained and spread oil upon the troubling waters and by so doing practically eradicated malaria, and believes that gives him the right to work the children of the families who live in his houses. When a man builds houses and invites four or five thousand people to live in his houses and to work for him it is his duty both to drain and pour

oil. That he has done his duty in one instance would be no excuse for doing what he would deplore in another. One might as well say that a man may beat his wife if only he will buy her warm clothes.

Another is opposed to child labor *but* he quotes with certain sanctity of look, "The poor you have with ye always." As if the poor little girl ought to be made to work or to be suffered to support a family any more than the rich little girl! A child is a child and is entitled to a child's care. When the State willfully neglects to care for its unfortunates and permits the burden of supporting others or even himself to be placed upon the shoulders of a child it does violence to the highest feelings of mankind and by so doing advertises to the world that by so much it has failed to meet the demands of good government.

And another opposes child labor *but* he wants to leave it all to economic laws and the good intentions of parents. Another newspaper is representative of this class. This is a *but* growing out of the fact that he who uses it was either born at least a hundred years after his time or else has, after due consideration, set his face against all modern thought. He who argues in this fashion must either forget the history of the progress of man through organization on the one hand, or else must feel duty bound to grind out just so many lines in opposition to a given measure on the other. In any event he is not a safe leader, for one who does not know men well enough to recognize the benefits as well as the needs of regulation, especially the regulation of the use and abuse of childhood, has not a sufficiency of the proper kind of knowledge to fit him for leadership.

In short, men who oppose laws regulating the employment of children and special machinery for the proper enforcement of such laws do it, not on the ground that there is no evil to be cured, but on the ground that sufficient excuses can be offered for the continuation of the evil. It is the same kind of argument which has been offered in every moral or social reform. It is admitted that boys should not smoke, but objection is raised to the prohibition of sale of cigarettes to boys. It would cut off the merchant's profit. It is admitted that a poolroom is not the proper place for minors but a law forbidding the owner of a poolroom to permit minors to enter or to play is objected to on the ground that it puts an unnecessary burden upon the owner. Likewise, it is admitted that child labor is an evil but when we undertake to have it stopped in the only

way by which it can be stopped we are met with this score of palliations and excuses. A thing that has to be excused continually is confessedly bad.

I have by suggestion stated the other view in what I have already said. Perhaps the only real difference is that those who believe in the enactment of laws regulating the employment of children have more thoroughly counted the cost of such employment and at the same time have fuller confidence in the ability of society when organized into a state so to regulate its affairs as to promote the general welfare.

It seems to me that we cannot better state the conception of those who favor the regulation of the employment of children than in a resolution lately adopted by the North Carolina Conference for Social Service. This resolution is as follows:

"We believe that in North Carolina it is neither necessary nor wise to make wage-earners out of children of tender years. It ought not to be permitted."

The next speaker was the Hon. J. J. Britt, of Asheville, representative of the Tenth Congressional District of North Carolina, who came, as he said, "to state just what I have done and have not done" in voting against the Keating bill. Unfortunately, after the conference Mr. Britt found he had not time to revise the stenographer's report of his speech and asked the National Child Labor Committee not to publish it in its present form. Therefore the speech is omitted from these proceedings. It is with great regret that we omit it, and in order to give some idea of Mr. Britt's arguments, as well as to explain their subsequent refutation by other speakers, we print the following brief outline of what seemed to us the main points of Mr. Britt's speech.

Mr. Britt said that he had opposed the Keating bill on two grounds:

- (1) That it is unconstitutional because
 - a. It attempts to regulate manufacture which Congress may not do.
 - b. It boycotts articles harmless in themselves, and therefore not in the same class as lottery tickets, impure foods, etc., which Congress has already prohibited from interstate commerce.
 - c. The judiciary committee of the House said nine years ago that Congress has no right to pass a child labor law.

- (2) That it is unhumanitarian because it throws the children out of their jobs and provides nothing for them except idleness and probable delinquency.

In arguing this point Mr. Britt said he did not want it thought that he objected to child labor legislation: he favored the Weaver child labor bill which was before the North Carolina legislature last year and wrote his friends in the state legislature to support it. But he could not support a measure like the Keating bill which would, in his judgment, be harmful to the welfare of children. He said the child labor law he wanted would "protect the morals of the child, save it from undue work, teach it lessons of uprightness and truth, and furnish its widowed mother some way to live."

In conclusion Mr. Britt spoke of the welfare work in North Carolina mills, stated that out of 2,941 cotton operatives in local mills, only 95 were under 14 and only 308 under 16, and made a plea for states' rights. He suggested that Mr. Keating and the New York supporters of the bill might be better employed improving conditions in their own states.

Dr. A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee, followed Mr. Britt with a speech on The South for Child Labor Reform.

In refuting Mr. Britt's arguments he said: "Of course I am not a lawyer, and therefore not able to discuss constitutional questions. I have been somewhat comforted, however, by the dictum of a famous Chicago judge who said, 'The law is common sense.' I have written a good many laws, and understand something about this federal child labor bill, and I thought while Mr. Britt was mentioning cases, I would read one thing to show how easy it is to prove from *extracts* that a thing is unconstitutional. 'It may be that Congress could not prohibit the manufacture of the article in a State. It may be that Congress could not prohibit in all of its conditions its sale within a State. But Congress may prohibit its transportation

between the States, and by that means defeat the motive and evils of its manufacture.' That was a reference to the pure food and drugs act.

"I did not understand Mr. Britt, however, when he announced that he was in favor of the Weaver bill, offered and rejected in the North Carolina Legislature, and yet seemed to denounce the standards of the Keating bill, as they applied to North Carolina. It does not seem to have occurred to him that they were the same standards. If the Weaver bill had passed, no child under 14 could have been employed in North Carolina, and none under 16 more than 8 hours, and we already have no night work for children under 16. All the horrible things that he told you would come by the passage of the Keating bill would have come by the passage of the Weaver bill, which he advocated. I confess I fail to see any consistency in that position.

"He referred to a judiciary committee in the House which passed on this matter. There was another bill before them, not a child labor bill. There was an appropriation pending for the investigation of child labor and woman labor, and Representative Towney, of the Appropriation Committee, referred this matter to the Judiciary Committee, and asked for a deliverance as to how far Congress could go in passing child labor legislation. The deliverance came back that Congress could not possibly pass a child labor law. Mr. Britt was right in his statement that there were 18 members of that judiciary committee. There are only three of them in the House to-day. Providence, and the people have been very busy with that committee. Out of the three that are still in the House, one voted against the bill and two for it, one from Texas, one from Illinois, so I think that *obiter dictum* may go into the discard.

"Mr. Britt spoke of a lottery ticket as though it were something contagious. Why did the Supreme Court stop the express companies from transporting lottery tickets, and lottery literature? It was to break up the lottery. As to impure food, he says that hurts the consumer, and child labor hurts the producer, one at one end of the line and the other at the other, but when we discuss misbranded goods, we come to another proposition. Under that law a man is not allowed to catch little herring, and sell them as sardines. Herring may be just as good, but they are misbranded. If I do not misunderstand, here was an effort of the Supreme Court to uphold a

moral standard in this country for the protection of working children, and nearly all the states have adopted that standard in some particulars, some of them in all particulars, and the federal government simply cooperates with the states in saying that they uphold that moral standard that has been set. The Supreme Court decided a case recently brought against the Shirley amendment concerning medicine with false claims on the label. The medicine may have been as good or as bad as it was before, but it had a taint morally.

"So I think there is a difference between one yard of cloth and another. I know that if Mr. Britt knew that there were two mills in Asheville making cloth, one with miserable conditions of employment and violating the law, and another obeying the law, kind and humane to its employees, he would buy his cloth from the good mill, rather than from the bad mill. So we say, 'You folks in Wyoming (or wherever it may be) can make your cotton into cloth, if you want to, with child labor and keep it to yourselves, but we have a right to be protected against becoming partners with you in the exploitation of childhood.'

"The South is in favor of the Keating bill. Not only that but 38 out of 48 states, enough to pass a constitutional amendment if necessary, voted solidly for the Keating bill. And of these, nine southern states have solid delegations in favor of it; Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona. Only these ten had members who opposed it: New Jersey (one out of twelve), Virginia (two out of ten), Tennessee (two out of ten), Alabama (two out of ten), Texas (six out of eighteen), Florida (two out of four), Mississippi (five out of eight), Georgia (nine out of twelve), South Carolina (seven out of seven), North Carolina (ten out of ten).

"Constitutional objections? The plain question for the plain folks is, Are all the constitutional lawyers from North Carolina and South Carolina, or does it just happen that these are the two biggest cotton manufacturing states in the union, as well as the two states in the South which have not yet reached the 14-year age limit for the employment of children? The question will not down—Why are the only two solid delegations against this bill from the two states with the worst conditions of child labor?"

Seventh Session

Mr. Lovejoy, Presiding

Addresses on National Responsibility for Child Labor were given by Miss Wald and Rev. R. F. Campbell, of Asheville. Dr. Campbell said in part:

"I want to take up three questions on the subject assigned me: First, what do we mean by national responsibility; second, how are you and I to discharge our national responsibility, supposing we have any; and third, have we any national responsibility for child labor?

"What do we mean by national responsibility? I ask this question because we are prone to think of national responsibility as something very abstract and remote with which we as individuals have little to do. Instead of that it means *your* responsibility and *mine* as citizens of this nation. Our relationships in this life may be represented by a series of concentric circles. I stand at the center of a small circle that represents my home, and out of the relationships of that home grow my domestic responsibilities. Outside of that circle is a larger circle, the community, and out of my relationships to the community grow my municipal responsibilities. And outside of that is a still wider circle, representing the state in which I live, and out of my relationships to the state grow my duties as a citizen of North Carolina. Outside of all these is the great circle representing the nation, and out of my relationships thereto grow my national responsibilities. National responsibility, then, means your responsibility and mine in national affairs.

"How are you and I to meet our national responsibilities and fulfill them?

Through our representatives in Washington, our federal government is not a remote and abstract thing. It is a concrete organ through which you and I are to fulfill our national responsibilities. It is *our* government. Mr. Wilson in his recent tour, speaking of preparedness, said to the people of the middle west that the gentlemen who sit in the capitol at Washington are going to deliver the goods, "and they are going to deliver the goods because you want the goods delivered." There it is in a nutshell. Those men are there to do what we want them to do, provided we let them *know* what we want them to do. I want to say that I have the greatest confidence in the courage and sincerity of Mr. Britt, but you did not let Mr. Britt know what you wanted. The manufacturers did let him know what they wanted. If you and I had written him, Mr. Britt might have helped to deliver the goods. We did not discharge our national responsibilities in this case. Do not blame Mr. Britt: let us get nearer home and blame ourselves.

"Have we any national responsibility in the matter of child labor? Is the child a local product? Is he not rather a national product and a national asset and ought not the nation to be interested in the child if it is interested

in anything? Read the testimony of Great Britain in regard to the great army of unemployed during the time of peace. It was found that these men were unemployed not because there was nothing to do, but because they were unfit, and they were rendered unfit by harmful labor in early childhood; unfit for the occupations of peace. And read the testimony in regard to the Boer war. The average British soldier was found unfit for the hardships of war and it was discovered when investigation was made by a government commission that the main contributing cause was early employment. It renders the citizens of the nation unfit for the service of the nation either in peace or in war. Is there, then, no national responsibility in the matter of child labor?

"Why should the federal government be interested in so many other things that concern the nation and remain indifferent to the children?" Only yesterday I read that the government is moving for a federal act to control interstate commerce in currant and gooseberry bushes. What has the government to do with them? It seems that there is a disease called the "blister rust" destroying the white pine timber and the parasite that produces the disease requires the currant or the gooseberry bush to live on during the first stage of its development. It can not touch the white pine tree until it has reached the second stage of its life. So the government wants to destroy or restrict the first home and is attempting to do it by means of the interstate commerce clause! Why has the government the right to regulate commerce in gooseberry bushes and not in the products of child labor?

"National responsibility, then, means your responsibility and my responsibility in our national relationships. These responsibilities are to be met and fulfilled through our public servants in Washington. In this matter of child labor we have a responsibility we can not shirk. Therefore, write to your Senators. It is too late to write your representatives, but let your Senators know what you want and do it at once!"

Mrs. Eugene Reilly of Charlotte, N. C., Recording Secretary of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, spoke of the work the women's clubs are doing for the Keating bill and said in part:

"The club movement, which was first a literary movement, is now a great social and civic force. It is a most democratic organization, and it exists for the preservation of the child, the woman, and the home.

"Fourteen years ago the General Federation of Women's Clubs passed a resolution urging the members of the General Federation to work through their state for good child labor laws, and they did so, but many of the states failed to pass such laws and they missed their privilege and opportunity. And it is because of this we stand unqualifiedly for the Keating bill."

Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, of Alabama, made a protest against the paternalism of the cotton mill welfare work, saying in part:

"I would like to know in all this beautiful welfare work, swings and libraries, and gymnasiums and brass bands, why all this money is spent, and then the children are kept in the mills doing so little work—for a mill man told me to-day they worked only about five hours. If they can spend all this money, why do they have to keep the children there? Do you know of any other industry

that would stand on the floor of the legislature and own up that it was so badly paid an industry that it took the whole family to support the family? Do you think we ought to tolerate an industry that owns to so low a schedule? Would it not be better if some of the churches and brass bands were put into the wages of the people so that they themselves might build their own churches? Does it not all savor of paternalism?"

The next speaker was **Hon. Edward Keating**, Congressman from Colorado.

FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

HON. EDWARD KEATING,
Congressman from Colorado

This is my first visit to North Carolina, but I have known something about the old Tarheel State because your people have been pioneers and they have gone out over our western country. Our mountains have beckoned to them, and you find them everywhere from one end of the Rockies to the other. We have entire communities in my state populated by men and women from western North Carolina. They have a most unfortunate habit of voting the Republican ticket, but aside from that they are desirable citizens.

And it was because of my knowledge of the men that North Carolina and other southern states have sent to the West that I felt confident I was well within the facts when I stated on the floor of the House of Representatives that those men who presumed to say that the people of the South were opposed to child labor legislation did not know what they were talking about. I said, and I am glad to repeat it in this presence, that when any man says that the people of Dixie want their children exploited, he is uttering a libel against the people of this section of our common country. That I was right in this judgment was evidenced when the vote was taken on the so-called Keating-Owen bill, because out of 150 representatives of southern states on the floor of the House only 45 voted against the bill. Two out of three of the men from the southland favored national child labor legislation.

When I came down here the other day I did not come for the purpose of engaging in a joint debate. I came to speak on this national child labor bill. But last night I attended a meeting of this conference at the Battery Park Hotel, which was addressed by

the representative from this district, Congressman Britt. According to the *Charlotte Observer*, which, as I understand it, is the organ of the cotton mill interests of this state, Mr. Britt during that speech "flayed" me. Well, I do not propose to flay Mr. Britt. I think I may leave that to Mr. Britt's constituents.

Mr. Britt appeared before the conference to state why he had voted against national child labor legislation. He said very dramatically, "God knows I love the children." Unfortunately, we cannot get any divine confirmation or contradiction of that statement, and we are therefore compelled to judge of Mr. Britt's love of children by what Mr. Britt did when he had an opportunity to vote to strike the industrial shackles from their limbs. On the second of February, 1916, in the national House of Representatives, Mr. Britt as the representative of the Tenth Congressional District of North Carolina, had the supreme opportunity to choose between the children and the cotton mill interests of North Carolina, and God knows he chose to take the side of the cotton mill interests.

And why? Why did he do it?

In the *Sunday Citizen* this morning is a report of Mr. Britt's speech. It is evidently a prepared report, a report which was handed in at the newspaper office before Mr. Britt delivered the speech, because there are a great many things which he said in his speech last night that do not appear in that report. However, there is enough to furnish us a text for this discussion to-day. Mr. Britt tells us, "In my prayerful judgment this bill is without a scintilla of constitutional warrant."

My friends, down in Washington there is a disease which plays great havoc among statesmen and near-statesmen. It is called constitutionitis. It generally begins to develop in a member of Congress when some good cause is before the House and he has not nerve enough openly to oppose it. Then he begins to show symptoms of constitutionitis. He is quite convinced that the thing is in opposition to the Constitution and he tells you, as Mr. Britt told you last night, that his oath to support the Constitution is "still warm on his lips" and therefore he must oppose this cause. Mr. Britt also stated in support of his assertion that the Keating-Owen bill is unconstitutional that he had challenged the House of Representatives to prove the contrary. He drew a very graphic picture of Congressman Britt of North Carolina facing the Republican and Democratic members

of the House and demanding that they should tell him of a single argument in support of the constitutionality of the bill, and he tells you in the paper this morning that no one attempted to defend the bill, that no one of its friends has ever seriously undertaken to establish its validity, and last night he said, in the speech which is not reported in the paper, that Congressman Shirley of Kentucky was the only man on either side who dared to oppose this indignant defender of the Constitution.

Unfortunately for Mr. Britt, my friends, there is a stenographic reporter in the House of Representatives, who takes down every word uttered, and then those words are printed in the Congressional Record. I wish that every person here might have copies of the Congressional Record for Wednesday, January 26, and Wednesday, February 2, the two days on which we discussed the child labor bill, in order that they might see for themselves that this question of the constitutionality of the bill was thoroughly considered, not by one man but by many men.

The brilliant Congressman from Maryland, Hon. David J. Lewis, in opening the debate, devoted himself to the consideration of the constitutional question. The great leader of the Republican side of the House, Congressman Mann, of Illinois, who may be the next Republican candidate for President, devoted considerable time to a discussion of the constitutionality of the bill. Mr. Shirley, who stands as high as any man in the House of Representatives as a constitutional lawyer, declared that he took up the consideration of the constitutionality of the bill believing he could prove it unconstitutional, but his studies had convinced him that his original impression was wrong and that it was clearly constitutional.

Mr. Britt interrupted one of these discussions, asked some questions—he did not remember that interruption when he said no one had attempted to enlighten him on the constitutionality of the bill. He forgot that when Congressman Towner of Iowa, one of the great Republican members of the House, was discussing the constitutionality of the bill, your Congressman arose and asked questions, and Mr. Towner endeavored to set his erring brother right.

And I want to read what this great Republican said to Mr. Britt, because as a matter of fact he has put the whole case in a nutshell. He has prescribed a remedy for constitutionitis which should be taken when a man feels it getting into his bones. He saw Mr. Britt

was showing symptoms, and he said, "The constitutional objection, if urged, should be fairly considered. But the legislator should be able to say, 'I believe the legislation desirable but the Constitution plainly forbids it,' before he opposes it on these grounds. The constitutional obstacle should be definite and fairly certain in order to obstruct the course of legislation. To hold otherwise would be to block the path of progress. Constitutions were not made for that purpose. They are charters of liberty, rather than shackles of slavery. They are guideposts in the pathway of progress rather than impediments and obstacles. Because that progress is orderly does not mean that it should be obstructed."

It is not sufficient that someone should say, "I think some judge of the Supreme Court may believe this law is unconstitutional." He must be able to definitely point out wherein the Constitution forbids the enactment of the law, and Mr. Britt was unable to do that when he interrupted Congressman Towner, and he was in the same predicament last night when he spoke in the Battery Park Hotel, and no man who has opposed this law has been able to point out any such inhibition in the Constitution, for the simple reason that there is no such inhibition.

Now, my friends, what do we propose to do? We propose to bar the products of child labor from the channels of interstate commerce. When the Constitution was drafted the states of this nation surrendered to Congress the absolute power to regulate interstate commerce, commerce with foreign nations, and commerce with the Indian tribes. The Supreme Court has held that the power of Congress to regulate is the power to prohibit, and that the power is absolute and exclusive. So far as interstate commerce is concerned this power is limited by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution—lawyers call it "the due process amendment"—that the life, the liberty, the property of citizens shall not be taken from them without due process of law. That is a limitation on federal action. In the Fourteenth Amendment the Constitution in the same language places the same limitation on the state legislatures. When the first child labor law was passed by a state legislature it was taken to the Supreme Court because they insisted that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Supreme Court brushed the objections aside, and held that the enactment of child labor legislation was not a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment in defense of the children

of the nation. When Congress exercises its powers under the commerce clause of the Constitution the Supreme Court will render as liberal a decision as it did in considering state legislation.

Not only that, but the Supreme Court has held that Congress in regulating interstate commerce could do those things that were necessary to safeguard the health, the morals, the safety, the welfare of the public. In doing that Congress may prohibit the transportation of certain products from one state to the other. Take the matter of shipping loose hay from one state to another; there is nothing deleterious about loose hay. It is perfectly good hay, and yet Congress has undertaken to say that it can not enter into interstate commerce. Why? Because it affects the public safety.

You can not transport a lottery ticket between the states. A lottery ticket in itself is an innocuous thing, but you can get a moral taint from it, and in order to protect the morals of the nation, Congress undertook to say you could not transfer lottery tickets from one state to another. When the lottery ticket legislation was before Congress many gentlemen were affected with constitutionitis. They were not in favor of lotteries—oh no, they were opposed to them!—but there was the Constitution, and if you passed a law barring lottery tickets, Lord knows what you might do with the foundations of the republic! Just the same argument is being made by these so-called constitutional lawyers against the child labor bill. But when the lottery bill came before the Supreme Court, it swept all these arguments aside, just as it will sweep them aside when the child labor legislation comes to it.

Let me show you what the Supreme Court has said on the subject. "It may be that Congress could not prohibit the manufacture of the article in the state." (We do not attempt to do that; we do not say you shall not manufacture cotton cloth with child labor in North Carolina; we do not think we have the power to say that—you may manufacture all the cotton cloth you wish with child labor in North Carolina, but, my friends, you can not ship it into another state.) "It may be that Congress could not prohibit in all its conditions its sale within the state. But Congress may prohibit its transportation between the states and by that means defeat the motive and evil of its manufacture." And the man who wrote that decision still sits on the Supreme Bench of the United States, and he is supposed to be a very fair constitutional lawyer.

And yet the Congressman from this district tells us there is not a scintilla of evidence of the constitutionality of this bill.

Does it not strike you as being just a little strange that among all those splendid gentlemen who sit on the Republican side of the House, only two, when the vote came, found themselves under the spell of constitutionitis? Is it possible that Congressman Parker of New Jersey, and Congressman Britt of North Carolina are the only constitutional lawyers on the Republican side of the House, and the only conscientious gentlemen? I do not believe it, my friends, I do not believe it for a moment. I do not believe that the hundred southerners—many of them the sons of confederate veterans, the sons of men who were willing to die for states' rights—that these hundred men who voted for this bill were less conscientious than the gentleman from the Tenth Congressional District of North Carolina, or knew less about the Constitution of their country.

Now, Mr. Britt, continuing his argument against the bill, said that even waiving this question of the constitutionality of the bill, he had a number of other objections, and I tried to follow him when he stated his idea of the proper kind of labor legislation. But I found he was travelling round in a circle, and I thought he might meet himself coming back, and did not want to be there when the embarrassing encounter occurred.

Mr. Britt, first of all, said it was well known that he was the friend of children. He said that he had advocated the Weaver bill in the state legislature of North Carolina. I saw a letter from Mr. Britt in which he did advocate what he spoke of as "good child labor legislation from North Carolina," and in his speech he specifically declared he had done all he could to urge the members of his party to support the Weaver bill. I had never heard of the Weaver bill before, so I was naturally curious to find out what kind of measure Mr. Britt had advocated at home. Here it is. This Weaver bill that Mr. Britt advocated in the North Carolina Legislature, or suggested that the members should pass, is far more drastic than the Keating-Owen bill. This bill says that "no child under 14 shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work in any mill, manufacturing establishment, factory, mine, workshop, etc. . . . no child shall be employed for hire during school hours, and no child under 16 shall be permitted to work in such places for more than 8 hours a day, or at night."

Well, if Mr. Britt had stopped there I would say there was some hope for him. But he did not stop there. In his printed speech he says, "You come here and offer him nothing (that is, the child who is working), but propose to take away the little work from his hands, leave him high and dry in the world to become a country loafer, a city backgammon, a town urchin and a village blackguard." These are the dreadful things that are to happen if you take children out of the cotton mills and canneries and mines and quarries of the country through the operation of the Keating bill. What will happen to them if you took them out through the operation of the Weaver bill? Would the effect be different?

But Mr. Britt says *he* has something to offer. Last night in the part of the speech not reported he referred to the "Britt bill," and he compared it to the Keating bill. He said the "Britt bill" not only took children out of industry but protected them and educated them and clothed them and looked after them. The only difficulty about all this is that the "Britt bill" does not exist. I will be glad to hear from any man in this audience if he can tell me where a copy of this "Britt bill" can be secured. No, it is a figment of the gentleman's imagination. There is no such thing.

Then how cleverly he safeguards the provisions of the "Britt bill" in that portion of his speech which he sent to the press! I wish I knew what he meant. He says: "I came here to plead for such regulation as will protect the child's body, safeguard his morals, provide schooling for him and by training his heart and his mind help him to make his way in the world." In the portion of the speech he delivered at the Battery Park Hotel he said that was the "Britt bill," but he did not say how he was to bring about the results. And he has not told anyone else, and he has never attempted to put the thing on paper. He simply used it in talking to that audience.

My friends, I, too, believe that when you take a child out of industry you must go further. We want to take him out of industry so that we can put him into the schools of North Carolina. We want to take him out of industry so that he can see more of God's outdoors as every child has a right to see it, that he may have more time for play, if you please. I believe children have a God-given right to play and if any educator in this broad land of ours were to suggest that you should keep children at their books for the same number of hours that the cotton mill manufacturers of some sections of this

country insist you should keep them at the loom, you would drive that educator from the position he occupied. No school, no church, no home is so pleasant that it constitutes a proper prison for young America for 11 hours a day.

But I, too, believe we should go even further than that. I believe we should have mothers' pension laws in this country. Out in our state we were the second in the Union to pass such a law. Illinois beat us to it, but we were second. And last year in the states which have such laws, twelve million dollars were distributed to mothers who were supporting their children. It is money well invested, and before you and I are gray-headed that sum will have been swollen to fifty million dollars. Why not? Last year we spent two hundred and fifty million dollars on an army and navy, and of what value is your army and your navy unless you have healthy American boys to man your ships and healthy American boys to fill the ranks of your army?

The other day some friend sent me an editorial from a New York paper giving the number of men who applied for enlistment at the recruiting stations of the army and navy, and the figures were so startling that I said they could not be true. I wrote to Secretary Daniels and Secretary Garrison, sending copies of this editorial, and asked for correct figures, and both secretaries came back and said this yellow journalist had told the truth. What was the truth? The facts were that in New York City only one in ten of those who applied for enlistment could pass the examination. And of the 168,000 who attempted to enlist in the army only a little over 40,000 could pass the physical test. Talk of preparedness! The movement to take children out of industry at an early age is the most important step in national preparedness!

Mr. Britt laid great emphasis last night on the manner in which he defended not only the Constitution but also the good name of North Carolina. He said if he had voted for the Keating bill he would have placed the seal of his approval upon the unjust and untrue things said about North Carolina. I never uttered an untrue statement concerning North Carolina; I never made an attack on this old state or upon the people of this state. No supporter of the bill ever directed a word of criticism at the people of this state. We were too busy telling the House that the men who wanted to exploit child labor were not speaking for you to indulge in abuse

of you. We were insisting that if you were there to speak your minds you would be with us. But there were men who said harsh things about North Carolina. There is a Mr. David Clark who runs a newspaper at Charlotte, North Carolina. Congressman Sumners, of Texas, at the hearings propounded the following question to Mr. Clark: "If you leave the question of education to the judgment of the parent after 14, why not all the time, and if not all the time, why any of the time?" Mr. Clark said, speaking of North Carolina, "When these people (the cotton mill operatives) come from the mountains they do not believe in education. That is the reason we do not have compulsory education in North Carolina, because the isolated districts would go Republican if we forced education on them."

That is a sample of the evidence submitted by the mill men who wished to be permitted to employ children of tender age. Congressman Lenroot, of Wisconsin, read to the House that vile slander on the mountain men and women, and where was Mr. Britt then? Did he rise in his place and brand as false those statements concerning the men of the mountains of North Carolina? Read the Record and you will fail to find that he had a word to say. The statement stood unchallenged. But a representative of the National Child Labor Committee, Mr. Swift, submitted figures to show that the children of the mill villages were much more illiterate than the children of the mountain counties.

So much for Mr. Britt's defense of North Carolina. I do not propose to go into the question of what Mr. Britt's attitude was on this subject prior to election. I do not know what he said to his constituents or to the friends of child labor legislation. Apparently, he was very successful in concealing his views on this subject—prior to election—because I find a great many of the warm supporters of child labor legislation believed that Mr. Britt would support the bill, and the gentlemen who make up this conference placed Mr. Britt on the program because they believed that he was the one man in the House from North Carolina who would support the bill.

Let me tell you something about this Keating bill. It is a very conservative measure. It sets up a standard to govern the employment of children which is already recognized in states representing much more than half of the population of this country. It says

that children shall not be employed in mines or quarries before they are 16 years old, that they shall not be employed in factories, mills, etc., before they are 14, and that they shall not be employed between 14 and 16 for longer than 8 hours a day, or at night.

Witness after witness representing the cotton mill interests of the country appeared before our Committee, and the majority of them agreed that the provisions were reasonable, with the single exception of the 8-hour day, and we asked them if they thought they could so regulate their work that children between 14 and 16 could still be employed but only for an 8-hour day. They said they did not think so, and we pointed out that in Massachusetts, where adults are worked more than 8 hours, children between 14 and 16 were only worked 8 hours. If the mills in Massachusetts do this, why can't the mills of the South do it? This was what we asked them, and they have not given any satisfactory answer to that question.

I have shown you, I think, as clearly as I could that the law is constitutional. I have tried to show you that it is not a sectional law; that it is not aimed at the South; that it is intended to cover the entire nation. This law is intended, as it should be intended, to affect equally every part of this broad land, because, as one of the preceding speakers said, "The nation is vitally interested in every child that opens its eyes under the American flag." We are one nation, one and indivisible, though my father like a good many of yours did what he could to make it two nations. They did not succeed, and we are all glad of it.

No, my friends, this will affect the child in the tenement in New York just as it will the child in the cotton factory down South, and the best evidence that this is true is the fact that the opponents of the bill pleaded on the floor of the House that we should insert an amendment excepting the members of the boys' and girls' canning clubs. We said we never intended to include the boys' and girls' canning clubs. "But," they said, "your bill is so water-tight, that it will take in everything," and to satisfy them the House put such an amendment in the bill. And now these same gentlemen who told the House that the bill was so water-tight that it would even catch the members of the boys' and girls' canning clubs, are going up and down the land telling you we have left a loophole by which the sweatshops of New York may benefit. There is not a word

of truth in that assertion, and no one knows it better than the gentlemen who make it.

But, my friends, this fight is only half won. We put the bill through the House by 337 to 46; it is now in the Senate, and the only hope of the opponents of this legislation is that they will be able to filibuster it to death, and they expect your senators from North Carolina to assist in the process. They count on your senators to actually lead this filibuster. They do not dare to permit the bill to come to a vote; their only hope is to delay proceedings till the preparedness programme comes in and in the hullabaloo over that they think they can block this child labor legislation.

The cotton mill interests know if we are beaten in this Congress, we will bob up serenely in the next. They know this fight is going on until the law is on the statute books, and no power but the Supreme Court can defeat this child labor legislation. If they are so sure of what the Supreme Court thinks of it, if Mr. Britt is so confident of his knowledge of constitutional law, why not give the Supreme Court a chance to pass on this proposition? That is all we ask. We ask for the privilege of voting in the Senate of the United States on this bill in order that it may be passed up to the Supreme Court. We ask you, men of North Carolina, you mountain men of North Carolina, you who like all mountain men love liberty and a square deal, to wire your Senators, that if they attempt to talk this bill to death, if they attempt to filibuster, they must not seek refuge behind you, they must not say that they represent the men of the mountains. Let them come out in their true colors and stand before the people of this country as men who prefer to stand for the cotton mill interests, rather than for the interests of the childhood of the nation.

Dr. George T. Winston, of Asheville, followed Mr. Keating.

CHILD LABOR IN NORTH CAROLINA

DR. GEORGE T. WINSTON, Asheville, N. C.

Former President of the University of North Carolina, and of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts

I asked a cotton mill man the other day why the mill owners themselves did not regulate the employment of children, did not refuse to employ any children of such age as should not work in

the mills. His reply was, "The cotton mill men intend to support the little children and look out for the widows and orphans." From the census returns of child labor, there seem to be more widows and orphans in North Carolina than in any other state, reckoning by the number of children employed in cotton mills, and there seems also to be a very remarkable concentration of North Carolina widows in cotton mill towns. Cotton mills as benevolent institutions for widows and orphans—certainly a great idea! Benevolent institutions in which children of 12 and 13 are called on to support the family!

If ever there was a time when child labor was necessary to the cotton mills of North Carolina, that time has passed. We are constantly proclaiming, both at home and abroad, that the cotton mill in North Carolina is more profitable than in the North. We say we have larger dividends in our mills. We invite the investment of capital and assert that the whole industry is successful and profitable. I doubt not that we tell the truth. And yet, when it comes to the regulation of child labor—after having made these assertions—we say that the cotton mill in North Carolina could not succeed without child labor. If child labor, with small wages and long hours is essential to the life of the mills, would it not seem that the children are supporting the mills, instead of the mills supporting the children?

We boast also of the prosperity of our state in other lines, of our rich soil, splendid climate and varied resources. We tell of the fine character of our people, of their charity and generosity, their good-heartedness and sense of justice. And yet—we say that a widow with four or five children would starve in our state unless her little children, 12 or 13 years old, worked in a mill to support her!

There are some among us who even maintain that work in the mill is a good thing for the children. I was talking this morning to a cotton mill man, a friend of mine, a big-brained, big-hearted man, and he said, "This age and generation seem to be crazy on the subject of not letting children work. Why, I put my boy in the cotton mill when he was a child!" "How young?" I asked. "At the age of 10," he said. "Is he still there?" said I. "No. He ran away. He didn't have sense enough to stay!" There are several thousand children in the cotton mills of North Carolina who *have* sense enough to stay, for if they ran away, they would be whipped and sent back again.

Sometimes it is denied that there are children in the mills under the legal age. Again, it is said that, granting the children are there, they come in because they are starving outside. Finally, we are told that after these starving children have been in the mill a year they are as fat and strong and frisky as young rabbits. These fine testimonies recall the story of the good Irishwoman who borrowed a skillet from her neighbor and after keeping it and using it six months, took it back. But the neighbor, finding it was cracked, sued the borrower for the value of the skillet. The borrower testified before the magistrate first, that she had never borrowed the skillet; second, that it was cracked when she got it; and, third, that it was whole when she took it back.

The cotton men said the other day to the Congressional committee, "Our mills are always open to inspection. We welcome inspection. We will pay for it ourselves. Come down on a Pullman, and we will pay for it." But the Congressmen said, "No, we have not time to come down, and we are not competent inspectors, but we will send an official inspector of the United States, according to this bill, and he will see the real state of things." But the cotton men replied, "No, we do not want any outside official inspectors in our mills." The cotton mills seem to be all right under any test you may suggest, except an official inspection by the government.

It would be an insult to this audience to discuss the statement that mill labor is as healthful for little children as outside labor, that a young girl of 12 or 14 just budding into womanhood, when she needs all the joyousness of life and health to prepare her for wifehood and motherhood, is better tied to the loom or spindle for 10 or 11 hours a day, than at home or in the open or at school.

Finally, it is said that our child labor is no worse than slum labor. Indeed! Is North Carolina to regulate herself by the slum standards of big cities?

We have tried for twenty years to check this evil. Many of the mill men—I believe a majority of them, probably three-fourths of them—are in favor of reform. But the minority raises a cry, a class cry, which arouses feelings and "pride of profession," and rallies the mill men, who then rally a lobby and fight legislation against the better sentiment of some of them, probably of most of them. They promise to make the reformation themselves, and then they don't do it. They have been promising it for twenty

years, and they have not done it. The state seems unable to do it, or unwilling. So finally, the great national government says, "We will do it."

But then it is said, "That is against the Constitution." A constitution is an awful thing. You run against it every time you try to do anything for humanity. Besides the Constitution of the United States, there is the constitution of North Carolina, the constitution of Buncombe County, the constitution of Asheville, and, finally, the constitution of each individual citizen and interest. About forty years ago, when the prohibition campaign was raging in North Carolina, an old toper stood up in a meeting, face, nose and body-tissues red with whiskey, and shouted, "It's agin the constitootion!" "Yes, agin your constitootion," was the answer. When a man shouts that a thing is against the constitution, it generally means it is against his constitution.

One would think from what has been said against the Keating bill that its only provision was to prevent child labor in the cotton mills of North Carolina. North Carolina is not mentioned in the bill; cotton mills are not mentioned; no state is mentioned; no industry is mentioned; and, what is more, it does not prohibit anybody of any age from working in the mills in any state that chooses to have them work. In North Carolina, after the bill becomes a law, we can still work children of 10 or 11 years of age, and work them 10 or 11 hours a day, if we want to. The bill does not prevent their working. But the bill says that if we work them, we can not take the stuff the little children have made and send it out to other states and sell it to people who are opposed to child labor. That is the way the United States put an end to the Louisiana lottery. The lottery bill said, "If Louisiana desires a lottery, we do not desire it for the United States, and the United States mail shall not be used to transmit lottery tickets or advertising." So the Keating bill says, "No state shall scatter child labor goods over the Union." Under the bill North Carolina could still work children, and still ship its child labor products—to some country that cares nothing about children, some great child labor country—like Turkey!

Who will protect the little children? The national government seems to be protecting everybody and everything but children. It is building roads, protecting foods from adulteration, sending out

agricultural demonstrators, teaching farmers to make better use of their land, looking after the health of hogs and sheep and calves. But it is *unconstitutional* for it to look after the health of little children!

As a citizen of North Carolina by birth, by education, and by residence, as a Southern man, as a Democrat, as a states' rights man, I say, if the fathers and mothers of little children will not take care of them, if the communities where they live will not take care of them, if their states will not take care of them, then, in God's name, let them have the protection and the care of the great United States!

Mrs. Florence Kelley was on the program for a speech but begged to be excused because of the lateness of the hour. She afterward wrote out what she would have said, however, and her paper is here quoted.

WHAT WILL BE LEFT FOR THE STATES TO DO AFTER THE KEATING BILL BECOMES A LAW?

FLORENCE KELLEY

General Secretary, National Consumers' League

After the Keating-Owen bill goes into effect, what will remain to the states to do? Will their task have been taken over by Uncle Sam? This question is frequently asked.

The first part of the usual reply commonly causes surprise, yet it is perfectly obvious. The immediate task of the states will be furnishing the facts necessary for enforcing the federal law. For its foundation is the proven chronological age of each child, a matter which the federal government can ascertain only through the action of the states.

BIRTH REGISTRATION

Without universal, complete registration of births, how are federal attorneys to prove to the satisfaction of federal judges and juries that a manufacturer of goods for interstate commerce employs children below the age of 14 years? Or that a quarryman, or mining company

engages children who have not yet passed the sixteenth birthday? If unregistered children working at night, or longer than 8 hours in 24, say that they are over 16 years old when in truth they are below the legal age for such work, what will the federal statute avail to protect them from their own folly? Nothing whatever!

In certain localities, it is true, churches do for children that work of birth registration which the state neglects. But in vast areas it is only a trivial minority of working-class children who are recorded by the churches.

In states, therefore, in which there is not already a well-enforced birth registration law, the federal Children's Bureau should be called upon, at once, to cooperate with women's clubs, alumnae associations and other available bodies of women to prepare the way for prompt enactment of such a law. In several states the Children's Bureau has already rendered valuable service in stimulating this legislation.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

When the proposed federal law takes effect, many states must enter upon a new era of school building. There will be need for schools of many grades, for children under 14 who will be excluded from all manufacture for interstate commerce, and also for pupils between 14 and 16 years shut out, henceforth, from the mines and quarries where they have hitherto been exposed to dangerous processes. There are no legal opportunities available for large numbers of these boys and girls. They will need schools.

Instead, therefore, of freeing the states of their responsibility for the children, the proposed law may reasonably be expected to stimulate the performance of the states' neglected duties in regard to vital statistics and to compulsory education.

Some states will be unaffected, or only slightly affected, as to supplying schools, even though they are industrially highly developed. Such are Michigan which already keeps boys and girls in school to the fifteenth birthday, and Ohio which keeps girls to the sixteenth and boys to the fifteenth birthday. Ohio has long forbidden night-work and employment in hazardous occupations for boys and girls. Aside from the canning industry and manufacture in tenement homes, the proposed federal law will make little difference in New

York. For there children must not only be 14 years old and in the seventh grade of their school work, but in good health and of the normal stature of children of their age.

In the two derelict industries, however, canning and homework, the federal courts are expected to convict violators of the federal statute where state officials and local juries have made a mockery of the state law.

For the children who have worked in canneries and in fields subsidiary to them, longer school terms must be provided by local school authorities in New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, and in some few Western states, where in the past school work has been dovetailed to suit the crops, not to meet the needs of the children.

For children who are not in school will be giving trouble both to the federal enforcing authorities and to law-breaking employers. Indeed, the most effective child labor law has always been a compulsory education law keeping children in school forty weeks in the year. Historically compulsory education came first. But for more than a generation school attendance laws and child labor restrictions have been, as it were, Siamese twins. Neither really lives without the other. In the current decade schools have been built, filled, and overcrowded largely in response to fresh stimulus from newly enacted prohibitions of children's work. No one disputes the responsibility of the states for providing schools, nor will that be diminished even though Uncle Sam may gradually extend downward towards the elementary schools such encouragement as he has been bestowing for forty years upon state agricultural colleges.

So far as to the dependence of the Keating-Owen bill upon the states for its enforcement, its service to every state will consist in establishing a minimum uniform standard below which no competing manufacturer, miner, quarryman or mill owner anywhere in our nation may go. The lowest level will be fixed, once for all, upon which interstate commerce may base assured calculations. Children here and there will, it is true, in exceptional cases find legal employment in manufacture intended for local consumption, as in candy kitchens safely distant from any state line, or wrapping and delivering bread to neighboring customers. But these will, in the nature of the case, be few.

INDUSTRIES OUTSIDE THE FEDERAL LAW

Wholly beyond its scope are the rural workers in cotton, tobacco, beet and berry fields, and in cranberry bogs and among the multiform crops that supply the canning industry. These great multitudes of children depend for protection of their health, education and morals upon the legislation of their states, some of which have, hitherto, seemed rather to interpret states' rights as the right to shirk. The urban activities of children not covered by the Keating-Owen bill include retail commerce in department and other stores, the messenger service, the stage, posing for moving picture shows, and the evil and demoralizing street trades.

If there be any honest opposition to the Keating-Owen bill, it behooves the opponents to exhibit to an admiring public the excellent provisions already existing in their states for the children who are now, and will remain available for the wide range of occupations *not* embraced in the federal bill.

Advocates of the measure may justly expect that among its cumulative good effects will be fresh interest in the public schools where they have been neglected hitherto, a nationwide demand for registration of all births, and higher standards of employment in occupations other than manufacture in states where no standards, or low standards have in the past prevailed.

In other words, the greatest benefit to the greatest number of children is to be looked for in the activities of the states themselves, stimulated by Uncle Sam's continuing effort to do for boys and girls all that the federal Constitution permits.

The following resolution was presented by **Dr. McKelway** and adopted by the meeting:

RESOLUTION OF THANKS

"**RESOLVED** that the National Child Labor Committee in Twelfth Annual Conference assembled hereby expresses its hearty thanks and grateful appreciation to the good people of Asheville for the cordial spirit of sympathy and cooperation with the work of the Committee manifested in the attendance upon the meetings; to the local committee for their excellent facilities furnished for the holding of the conference; to the speakers whose messages have reawakened the resolve that helpless childhood shall be protected from exploitation.

"The committee feels grateful for their opportunity of learning the mind and heart of the South on the subject of child labor reform, and trusts that its

first meeting in North Carolina will have given a new impetus to the completion of our task, which is the ending of the abuse of child labor in state and nation."

Mr. Lovejoy then said, "I want to thank you again, citizens of Asheville, and citizens of North Carolina. We are very glad the principles of the Child Labor Committee have been brought out so clearly here. The National Child Labor Committee has never made a fight on any section or industry, but is fighting simply for the American child wherever that child lives.

"It now becomes my duty regretfully to declare the Twelfth Annual Conference of the National Child Labor Committee closed."

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A LAWN PARTY

A TEA

A CHILD LABOR PAGEANT

**For the Benefit of the
NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**

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They will be bigger, better children for doing it

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National Child Labor Committee

INCORPORATED

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1904

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204 Bond Building	-	-	-	Washington, D. C.

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OBJECTS

- To promote the welfare of society with respect to the employment of children in gainful occupations.
- To investigate and report the facts concerning child labor.
- To raise the standard of public opinion and parental responsibility with respect to the employment of children.
- To assist in protecting children by suitable legislation against premature or otherwise injurious employment, and thus to aid in securing for them an opportunity for elementary education and physical development sufficient for the demands of citizenship and the requirements of industrial efficiency.
- To aid in promoting the enforcement of laws relating to child labor.
- To coordinate, unify, and supplement the work of state or local child labor committees, and encourage the formation of such committees where they do not exist.

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The Child Labor Bulletin

August, 1916

**FEDERAL LAW
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
STREET TRADES**

PUBLISHED BY

National Child Labor Committee



Lewis W. Hine, Photographer

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CHILDREN OF THE SUNSHINE

PAGEANT OF SUNSHINE AND SHADOW, WASHINGTON IRVING H. S., JUNE 5, 1916

The Child Labor Bulletin

**Volume Five
Number Two**

AUGUST, 1916

**Issued Quarterly
Price \$2 per Year**

**PASSING THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW
INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN NEW YORK CITY
STREET TRADES REGULATION**

PUBLISHED BY

National Child Labor Committee

INCORPORATED

105 EAST 22D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

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NATIONAL CHILD LABOR
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EDITORIAL NOTES

On July 1, 1916, the trustees of the National Child Labor Committee published the following statement of their position regarding vocational education:—

1. The purpose of child labor legislation is to secure to the child the opportunity for proper, balanced, normal development. The child labor problem can not, therefore, be separated from the educational: to protect the child without providing for his education is impracticable.

GENERAL STATEMENT
REGARDING VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

2. The public school system of this country should be directed toward creating in its pupils genuine American citizenship and providing for all-around development in particular on its social side, which must, naturally, include vocational efficiency. No pupil should be regarded as predestined to enter industrial or commercial pursuits, but his natural aptitudes should be studied with every care. No matter though the outlook be slender for a future corresponding to his natural bent, there should never be the presumption that this future will be frustrated by poverty or other unpropitious circumstances. Vocational guidance should seek to achieve congruity between the vocation actually followed and natural fitness.

3. Students of industrial conditions have repeatedly shown that, with the possible exception of agriculture, there is very little opportunity for vocational training in the jobs now open to children under 16 years of age. We believe that the age limit for employment should be gradually raised to 16 years, so that children expecting to enter industry may obtain the full benefit of the pre-vocational education which the schools should provide. We believe that the period of control should be extended by the school authorities for purposes of education and training at least to the eighteenth year. We believe that the most efficient training for any industrial career

can be consummated only through a system which combines classroom education and employment, whereby each supplements the other, rather than by a complete exclusion from industry. The child in industry should continue his education, the time set apart for his schooling being taken from his regular work hours. Teachers and employers would thus cooperate to secure his best development, and the employer as well as the teacher should be considered a servant of the public. The child's welfare rather than his earnings should be made the objective, and while under wise management such employment may be profitable to both the child and the employer, the conditions of employment should be under public control. Specifically, there should be applied such reasonable restrictions as are now embodied in the proposal for federal legislation, to wit: the 16-year age limit for employment at dangerous occupations; the 14-year age limit for ordinary occupations; and, for children under 16, the 8-hour workday, and prohibition of night work; there should also be requirement of physical fitness and knowledge of reading and writing English, geography, American history, and the fundamentals of arithmetic; and wherever local conditions permit, as for example at present in Ohio and some other states, the 15-year minimum should be established.

4. For young persons who have already started to earn their living without the benefit of this systematic training, the public school should afford an opportunity to promote further their education in the theory and practice of their vocations and in citizenship and social development.

5. The change in the direction of the standards set forth in the preceding paragraphs of this statement should be made through adjustments gradual enough to give the schools a chance to meet the situation.

On the assumption that there is every chance that the federal bill will pass before the summer is over, we are beginning to plan for the work ahead of us when there is no longer

THE FEDERAL a federal child labor bill with a first claim
BILL—AND AFTER upon our time and funds. The passage of the bill, in spite of all that it will accomplish for the protection of working children, is not the end of the fight. There must still be state campaigns for laws to protect children in local

industries (in stores, street trades and the night messenger service), campaigns for better school laws, and, most important of all perhaps, investigations of occupations in which children engage about which little is known. Of these investigations, the survey of children in agriculture, which is now under way, is the most significant. The study of the children employed in the beetfields of Colorado is being followed by an intensive study of the effects of agricultural labor on school attendance in Kentucky. The condition of the tenant farmers and the extent of adult illiteracy are also receiving attention with a view to discovering the relation of poverty and ignorance to the employment of children on the farms. The agricultural survey is being extended still further to discover what opportunities for schooling there are for the children who migrate during a large part of the year from one agricultural section to another as the crops mature.

The first prosecution under Pennsylvania's new child labor law was brought in June after the law had been in operation six months and a fine of \$100 was imposed on the defendant

ENFORCEMENT who had employed a boy under 16 in his glass
NORTH AND SOUTH factory without a work permit. Under the
law a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than
\$200 may be imposed and it is evident from this that the Pennsylvania courts are not inclined to be lenient toward employers who have now had plenty of opportunity to become familiar with the law.

In striking contrast with Pennsylvania's method of enforcement is that of South Carolina as revealed in the last report of the Commissioner of Labor. The law which has been in force since 1912 provides a minimum penalty of \$10 for employers who *knowingly* violate the law and for parents who *permit* their children to work in violation of the law. In 1914 ten different prosecutions were brought for employment of children under 12 years of age (the legal age limit at that time) and in every case but one the complaint was brought against the parents and the minimum fine imposed. A child employee may be only 7 years old and the inspector may furnish positive proof of its age—the employer merely says he did not *know* this, declares the child's legal age was represented to him as 12 years, and he goes free! In the one case where the employer was prosecuted there was no affidavit as to age and the family Bible

showed the girl to be under 12, but the court handed down a decision of not guilty.

How long will it be before South Carolina recognizes the fact that the employer is more culpable than the parent and that the law must be amended so that the employer is no longer protected by a technicality but made to suffer the full penalty for violation of the law?

We must "nag" the South a little more by reminding them that although the night schools for adult illiterates, of which the *Charlotte Observer*, of May 27, speaks so warmly in the

NAGGING THE SOUTH editorial which we reprint below, are the best means we know for repairing damage already done, a state-wide compulsory education law for children between 7 and 14 would make such schools unnecessary. The National Child Labor Committee has no funds to expend on the education of South Carolina children but if the mill owners who are interested in education would work for the enactment of a good compulsory education law there would be no need to call on the National Child Labor Committee for help in providing educational facilities.

IN THE MILL VILLAGE

"The cotton mill men in North Carolina have never had the cooperation of the National Child Labor agitators in the matter of providing educational facilities in the mill villages and we suppose it has been the same way in South Carolina, where the lack of cooperation on part of the agitators has been irritatingly emphasized by a persistent system of nagging and interference. But South Carolina seems to have been getting along fairly well in this direction, as manifested in the report by George D. Brown, supervisor of the mill schools in that State. We are indebted to *The Mill News* for the information we are able to give. It is no news at home, but it will afford edification to the weepy-eyed philanthropists who have been so much concerned about the welfare of the poor people in the Southern cotton mills. Mr. Brown says that approximately 5,000 adult pupils were enrolled in the night mill schools, some of them advanced beyond the mature age of 70 years. Reports thus far collected give an enrollment of 4,642, with reports not yet filed from several districts. It is figured that as many as one-third of these had never been in school before. Two hundred and fifteen teachers were engaged in dispelling the illiteracy of those from whom advantages had been snatched in early youth. There are 160 mills in the State and 98 night schools were organized during the Winter in these. Concrete returns have been so inspiring that Mr. Brown predicts that within five years adult illiteracy can be clearly wiped out, and the addition to the effective work for those thus enrolled, a wholesome influence has been shed over the day schools in the mill villages, in which the enrollment has been increased 16 per cent.

"The night schools are but a small phase of the work undertaken in the reconstruction of the mill schools of the State. Many special levies

have been voted during the year, for modern school buildings and the maintenance of an adequate teaching force and the purchase of extra equipment."—From the *Charlotte Observer*, May 27, 1916.

Japan's first child labor law went into effect on June 1. It is a very inadequate law providing a 12-year limit, a 12-hour day, a 7-day week and prohibition of night work between 10 p. m. and 4 a. m. The inadequacy of these provisions is increased by weakening exemptions so that the law can hardly be considered more than an acknowledgement of the principle that the protection of the child is essential to the development of the nation. It is the law of recurrence again. Japan is passing from the agricultural to the industrial stage and is suffering from all the ills that attended similar developments in England and the United States. The strange part about it is that as each country goes through this stage it seems unable to learn from the experience of other countries. Japan has discovered, as did England, that the men from her industrial sections are not measuring up to military standards. Frightened by this, she raises her age limit from nothing to 12, with exemptions to 10 years, provides a 12 to 14-hour work day, and a working week of 7 days! Yet the standards that other countries have found it necessary to adopt are not unknown to her for only a year or two ago some of her influential citizens sent to the National Child Labor Committee for information about the child labor movement in this country. Perhaps, though, Japan took as a guide some of the states which have not yet learned their industrial lesson from England and the older industrial states. We still have four states which permit an 11-hour day; three states which have no 14-year limit; and nine states which do not prohibit night work.

On June 5 the first-year pupils of Washington Irving High School, New York City, gave the first presentation of Constance D'Arcy Mackay's *Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow*, written for the National Child Labor Committee. They made their own costumes, printed the programs and worked out the whole production, under the direction of the departments of English and physical training of their school, as a "contribution to the cause of child labor," and their contribution

proved a most valuable one. The pageant, which is an effective spectacle and at the same time good propaganda, was well received both by the audience and by the newspapers of the city. Within a few days the Committee received a number of requests for permission to use it, and it is hoped that it will find its way into schools all over the country.

It is especially suited to school production because of its simplicity of language and staging. As Miss Mackay says in her introduction, "All that is asked of those taking part in it is that they should act according to the stage directions, and speak clearly." It can be given either indoors or out; the simpler the costumes the better; and only two easy dances are interpolated. One of the conditions of production is that "the pageant must be played as it stands. No extra lines or characters or dances may be put in."

The story is of a little girl who falls asleep and dreams of Children of the Sunshine and Children of the Shadow. The Children of the Sunshine, led by Joy and Play, come dancing on the stage. Knowledge and Aspiration soon follow them and are about to show them what is in the Hall of Life, when the Children of the Shadow appear. They have come to see the others dance but they themselves cannot dance or play. Knowledge offers to teach them, but suddenly Greed, Fatigue and Ignorance appear and forbid the Children of the Shadow to learn. It is only by calling on Public Opinion and Legislation that Knowledge succeeds in routing Greed and his followers, and freeing the Children of the Shadow. All the children then dance off together, the little girl awakes, and the curtain drops as she steps forward to ask the audience to "help us make the dream come true."

A picture of the Children of the Sunshine is published as the frontispiece of this Bulletin. Information as to the pageant and copies of it may be obtained from the office of this Committee.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Frederick Crane, of New York City, a contest for the best essay on child labor was held in the seventh and eighth grades of sixteen Brooklyn public

CHILDREN'S	schools in June, with prizes awarded amounting
CONTEST	to \$100. In each school the winners of the first
	second and third prizes received \$3, \$2, and \$1

each, and the winner of the first prize for the entire contest (this decision was made by the National Child Labor Committee) received

\$4. The winner of this prize was Anna Olsen, 13 years old, of Public School 170, Brooklyn. Several of the essays showed considerable originality in presentation and although in all of them there was an unfortunate amount of misinformation and poor English, they showed that the contestants had at least grasped something of the importance of their subject, and suggested the prize contest as a good means of interesting school children in the child labor problem.

Recent publications of the Committee are a reprint of the article on Child Labor in the Sugar-Beet Fields of Colorado in the February Bulletin; a pamphlet on the Child in the Cotton Mill, containing the latest data on the mills; reprints of Dr. George Winston's, Mr. James Barrett's and Mr. George Berry's speeches at the Asheville conference, from the May Bulletin; a leaflet containing the General Statement Regarding Vocational Education; and a reprint of Experiments in Industrial Education in New York City from this Bulletin. A revised edition of leaflet 62, Publications of the National Child Labor Committee, is ready for distribution, and should be of special value in introducing libraries and clubs to the work of this Committee.

PASSING THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW*

A. J. MCKELWAY

Secretary for the Southern States, National Child Labor Committee

As this is written, the Keating-Owen bill is before the United States Senate as the unfinished business and its passage and approval by the President is expected daily.

Events have been moving rapidly toward this long deferred consummation during the last few weeks. After the passage of the bill in the House, the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce reported it favorably, Senator Robinson of Arkansas making the report, and the bill went to the calendar. Next, the Steering Committee of the Democratic majority, of which Senator Kern is chairman put the child labor bill on the program of measures to be passed at this session. In June, Progressive, Republican and Democratic National Platforms all declared for the speedy enactment of an effective federal child labor law.

Later, there was a meeting of the Republican Conference Committee, of which Senator Gallinger is chairman, and the Democratic Steering Committee, to see whether an agreement could be made upon the "program." Members of the Conference Committee proposed that if the majority would be content with passing the appropriation bills, the revenue bill, the ship purchase bill and the corrupt practices bill, there would be very little discussion of the shipping bill, which was defeated in the preceding short session by a filibuster, and Congress could adjourn early in August. The Steering Committee countered by proposing that the child labor bill, the workmen's compensation bill and the immigration bill should be added to the program. Whereupon the Conference Committee declared that if so long a program of legislation were insisted upon there would be "considerable discussion" of the ship purchase

*As we go to press on August 8, news comes to us that the bill has passed the Senate by a majority of 52 to 12. We congratulate the splendid membership of the National Child Labor Committee in achieving this victory.

bill, which is the parliamentary way of threatening a filibuster. Upon reflection, however, the Conference Committee recognized that they had drawn the line against three measures with wide popular support, and Senator Gallinger announced that the minority were ready to facilitate the passage of the child labor bill and the two other measures referred to.

Senator Ellison D. Smith, of South Carolina, who desired the defeat of the child labor bill much more earnestly than he did the passage of the immigration bill, gave notice that he would call up the immigration bill, which the President had vetoed, following the passage of the appropriation bill then pending, and with the intimation of some other Senators representing cotton mill states that there would be a prolonged discussion of the child labor bill if it were laid before the Senate, the Democratic caucus agreed to postpone both measures until the short session in December.

Thereupon President Wilson went himself to the Capitol, taking possession of the "President's room," which is usually occupied only during the closing hours of Congress when belated measures are to be signed or vetoed by the President, and sending for Democratic members of the Senate to remind them of the promise in the Democratic Platform of 1916, which demanded the speedy enactment of the child labor bill. The President's interference changed the situation again, and at the next Democratic caucus the former decision was reversed and the caucus by a unanimous vote agreed to put the child labor bill on its program as soon as the last appropriation bill, then pending, was passed.

Then Senator Borah introduced an amendment to the child labor bill which was found to be the immigration bill as it had passed the House and had been reported to the Senate. Senator Hardwick of Georgia openly announced that he was in favor of amending the child labor bill with the immigration bill in the hope of killing the former measure through the Presidential veto of both measures. The Democratic caucus was again called in session and decided by an overwhelming vote that the majority would not countenance affixing any other bill to the child labor bill as an amendment.

On Thursday, August 3rd, the last of the appropriation bills was passed and Senator Robinson moved to take up the child labor bill, and it was thus made the unfinished business of the Senate,

not to be displaced by other business except by unanimous consent. Senator Robinson opened debate on the bill with a masterly speech. Senator Hardwick followed with all the historical, legal and constitutional arguments that could be collected in opposition to the measure. Senator Borah made a strong and convincing argument in favor of the bill. Senator Thomas of Colorado made an argument in support of his amendment, which will be defeated, including the products of farms where children were employed and the products used as raw material for factories. Senator Cummins closed the debate in behalf of the Committee.

So by the time this number of the Bulletin gets into the reader's hands it is probable that the bill will already have become a law.

STREET TRADES REGULATION*

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.

Secretary for the Northern States, National Labor Child Committee

In the past decade and a half there has been a gradual but quite noticeable improvement in street trading in respect of the number of children engaged. This has been due partly to the agitation carried on against this phase of child labor and also largely to the fact that street trading has been going through a process of organization which has resulted in the taking over of the children's activities by older persons. For example, the itinerant bootblack is seldom seen to-day, whereas years ago he was almost omnipresent, for the possibilities of bootblacking as a regular business were seen and developed through the establishment of stands, or "shine parlors," where youths and often full-grown men are employed to do the work.

The elimination of the young newsboy is not by any means a wild fancy of the social worker's imagination; indeed, in New York city, for example, the number of small boys selling newspapers is very much smaller today than ten or fifteen years ago. The tendency in this, the most extensive form of street trading, has been also toward the organization of the business in the hands of adults who have established stands on the street corners where they serve the public much more economically and systematically than the boys were able to do. In fact, the stands in many public places are now controlled by corporations conducting the business on a large scale.

So this tendency toward organization and the consequent displacement of the child is most encouraging and a very welcome supplement to the restrictive legislation advocated for some years past.

The steadily increasing attention given to this subject in the past decade, resulting in the adoption of provisions for control by many of the states, reflects the growing conviction that street trading as an occupation is undesirable for children. The laws, however,

* Address delivered before the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Indianapolis, May, 1916. Printed by permission.

still distinguish between street occupations pursued for wages and those pursued for profits, bringing the former under the general child labor restrictions, while the latter, if covered at all, are mentioned separately and made subject to much less stringent regulations. Errand running, delivery work and messenger service require children to be in the streets a large part of the time, but have the advantage of oversight and direction by adult employers; nevertheless these occupations have long been classed with work in factories and mills, presumably because they all rest on a wage basis, and the same age limit for employment (14 years in most of the states) has been applied. Newspaper selling, bootblacking and other forms of street trading, on the other hand, have the serious disadvantages of lack of discipline, unsuitable environment and improper associations. Yet they are either wholly ignored or only feebly regulated by state laws, evidently because the children who engage in them are seeking profits and should enjoy full freedom of action in such praiseworthy endeavor. So persistent is this economic distinction between wages and profits that it is insisted upon even when, as in the case of a child labor law, it denies to one group of workers the protection it throws about others.

Under these circumstances and as the street trading laws now in force are of comparatively recent enactment and more or less primitive, one is necessarily impressed in studying the present situation, by the confusion of thought on the subject as revealed by the wording of the different types of regulation so far adopted. In twenty-eight states of the Union there is no law governing street trading by children. In the twenty other states the provisions are of great variety, although some of the states have followed the usual custom of blindly copying the law of some other commonwealth, without much thought as to whether or not its provisions were adequate.

In Colorado the only restriction applies to girls under 10 years of age, who are prohibited from engaging in any business or occupation in street or alley, there being no interference whatever with the sacred right of boys to exploit themselves in the city streets.

In Utah the age limit for selling newspapers is 12 years for boys and 16 years for girls, but for some unaccountable reason, bootblacking is tacitly approved as an occupation for little girls by a reduction of the limit for them to 12 years, thereby

opening up a new field of usefulness if they feel inclined to follow this dainty and essentially feminine profession of shining shoes at the gutter's edge.

New Hampshire's law shows another curious inconsistency in that girls under 16 must not sell newspapers nor merchandise, but girls of 10 may work as bootblacks.

Delaware prohibits boys under 12 and girls under 14 from selling newspapers in cities, but fixes no age limit whatever for either sex so far as other kinds of street work are concerned.

Florida is similarly careless, for she attempts to regulate only newspaper selling with an age limit of 10 years for boys and 16 for girls.

New Jersey provides regulations for street trading for children between 10 and 16, but fails to fix any minimum age limit. Consequently children under ten are legally not even subject to the regulations that apply to the older ones.

New York contributes her full quota to the confusion, for in that state an itinerant bootblack who goes about the streets with his own kit slung over his shoulder, may legally work any number of hours daily from infancy up, while a bootblack, who works in a "shine parlor" must be at least 14 years of age. The age limit for newspaper selling is 12 years, and for peddling is 16 years. It would be difficult to devise a more inconsistent set of regulations.

Oklahoma declares that girls under 16 shall not sell newspapers, but says nothing about other street trades, nor anything at all about boys.

In Virginia boys under 10 and girls under 16 must not sell newspapers, but at 14 years of age girls may peddle any kind of goods in the streets to their hearts' content.

Child labor laws are not unlike some other creations in being fearfully and wonderfully made. The age limit for employment in factories is nearly everywhere the same for both boys and girls, while for street trading, particularly newspaper selling, the limit for boys is lower than the factory limit, but for girls it is higher. There are good and sufficient reasons for the extra restrictions applying to girls, and this being true, why should there be such a discrepancy between the factory and street trading limits for boys, especially as the difference between them is just the reverse of that relating to girls?

The difference in the age limit for employment of children in street trading and in factory work is probably due to the fact that street trading has generally been looked upon as objectionable, chiefly from the moral viewpoint, and hence, by a singular application of the double standard, the employment of girls in this kind of work has been discouraged more than that of boys; while on the other hand, child labor in factories has been decried largely because of its physical effect, and this being commonly regarded as the same upon both sexes, the same age limit has been adopted in almost all the states for girls as for boys.

The state of Kentucky has established the best and most logical standard in this country for both boys and girls in this work, the age limit for boys being 14 and for girls 18 years, for all kinds of street trading in cities, including newspaper selling. This seems logical because it is the general standard for boys in other common forms of employment, and for girls the propriety of the higher age limit of 18 years will hardly be questioned by anyone. Boys under 16 years of age are not permitted to work at night, which also corresponds to the restrictions of the ordinary child labor law.

The British Departmental Committee of 1910 in its report on the employment of children act declared that street trading by boys under 17 and girls under 18 years should be absolutely prohibited.

In 1911 the London County Council put in force a set of by-laws which prohibit boys under 14 and girls under 16 years from engaging in street trading of any kind, while boys under 16 must not trade before six in the morning nor after nine in the evening. The adoption of these provisions was the result of long experience in dealing with the problem, and as they are strikingly similar to our own state factory laws, it would be well for us not to disregard their significance, inasmuch as we long ago applied the same restrictions to delivery and messenger service, which are really street occupations, and yet have so far not considered it necessary to adopt the same standard for the other forms of street work.

We should be the more inclined to view the matter in this light, because of the report of our federal government on the condition of woman and child wage-earners, which in referring to juvenile delinquency and its relation to employment, shows that the largest number of delinquent boys is found in those occupations in which

the nature of the employment does not permit of supervision, namely: newspaper selling, errand running, delivery service and messenger service. Boys engaged in these occupations, together with boot-blacks and peddlers, all work under conditions, says the report, which bring them into continual temptations to dishonesty and other offenses.

The demand for a 14-year age limit for boys and a higher limit for girls in street trading is increasing as the people become more familiar with the results of leaving this kind of children labor free from restraint or subject only to inadequate regulation. The Missouri department of factory inspection strongly recommends such a standard, as does also the New Hampshire school department.

Mr. Philip Davis, who was formerly the supervisor of licensed minors in Boston, says in *Street-Land*, a book recently written by him: "Ultimately every American city will entirely abolish street trading by school children. Until that time comes, every city can check many of its abuses by a license system and plan of supervision with self-government as its central feature." He recommends the age limits of 14 years for boys and 16 years for girls in all kinds of street work.

In a recent convention of the Newspaper Managers' Association the representative of a large city newspaper said that better results would be secured from the use of recognized news stands on the principal corners of a city than in relying upon newsboys, and that today many circulation managers were in favor of the elimination of the shouting newsie. Indeed one of the signs of the times is the fun that is poked at some periodicals that try to extend their circulation through the use of boys. One of the New York newspapers recently published a burlesque of an appeal to parents which has been widely distributed by a leading periodical in an effort to induce their children to sell it.

For years there was maintained in New York city an organization known as the Newsboys' Home Club, for the benefit of newsboys. Last year the directors of the club announced a campaign to raise half a million dollars, with which they intended to build a substantial club house. This plan provoked many protests from persons who were of the opinion that the money would be spent simply to perpetuate a form of child labor now commonly recognized as undesirable, and which is indeed gradually passing away in New

York city. They urged, on the other hand, that this fine spirit of helpfulness shown by the directors be put to better use through the establishment of a general boys' club, which would benefit all the boys of a community and at the same time be free from any attempt to glorify newspaper selling as an occupation for young boys. This suggestion was finally adopted by the board of directors and the campaign was launched, but the funds raised amounted to only \$100,000, and this money is to be used for the erection of an annex to the Boys' Club, a successful organization which has been operating for many years in the same section of the city where the old Newsboys' Home Club was located. The former superintendent of the Newsboys' Home Club has been made an assistant superintendent of the Boys' Club, and five of the directors of the old organization have become members of the board of trustees of the Boys' Club, and hence their helpful interest has been extended to boys in general.

The actual number of newsboys in New York city is decreasing, as shown by the records of this Boys' Club, out of whose 3,000 members there are now only about twenty-five who sell papers regularly. This does not mean that there are no small boys engaged in newspaper selling in New York city. It does mean, however, that there are fewer today than ten or fifteen years ago, for the great majority of readers are today buying their newspapers at stands, presided over by older persons—often cripples and others incapacitated for earning their livelihood in more active work. So the present tendency is doubly beneficial—the young children are being excluded and the work is being turned over to older persons who really need it.

Unfortunately, the enforcement of street trading regulations is a matter of more or less indifference to many communities, and methods vary widely. The assignment of the task to a supervisor and his assistants who devote their entire time to it, preferably under the direction of the school authorities, has secured better results than any other plan so far tried. When the enforcement is attained through the organization of the traders into a self-governing body, as in Boston and Milwaukee, it is of positive benefit to them. But the success of any such undertaking depends in the last analysis upon the personality of the man in charge. It is his spirit of enthusiasm and influence over the boys that induces and encourages

their respect and obedience, and when he withdraws and another takes his place, if the successor is not equally well qualified, a failure is almost certain to follow.

The system of licensing children is necessary as an aid to enforcement, and we can perhaps not hope to do away with this necessity, at least for a long time to come. A recent British report on street trading declares: "Our general impression, gathered in towns in which by-laws had been made, was that, though in exceptional cases much good had resulted from their adoption, on the whole this method of dealing with what we have come to consider an unquestionable evil has not proved adequate or satisfactory. In many instances it has been pointed out to us that a system of licensing and badging is but a method of legalizing what is indisputably an evil, and that a set of by-laws, however rigorously enforced, can at best only modify the difficulties of the position." In making this statement the British Committee was arguing for prohibition of street trading by all boys under 17 years. But in this country, inasmuch as the age limits are much below this standard, the system of licensing must be continued, and should be in the hands of the school authorities, just as the licensing for other kinds of common work is today in most of our states.

The happy-go-lucky practice of entrusting the enforcement of such laws indiscriminately to police, truant, probation and factory inspection officers is a great mistake, not only because these officers are charged with sufficient duties without this added burden, but because when different groups are held responsible, each one looks to the others to do the work. The best system is to place the whole matter in each city in the hands of a man of strong character and winning personality, with no other duties to perform, and employed for full time under the direction of the local superintendent of schools.

THE PASSING OF THE BREAKER BOY*

FLORENCE I. TAYLOR

Publication Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

"Give us enough jigs and we wouldn't have any boys—jigs do the work much better," said the foreman of a Pennsylvania coal breaker recently. (A "jig" is a mechanical slate picker which can do the work of ten breaker boys.) As fast as they can afford to do so, the coal companies are installing "jigs" or other mechanical pickers so that they need no longer be dependent on young boys to pick slate from coal.

The interesting fact about this situation is the part the new child labor law has played in convincing the coal companies that mechanical pickers are more economical than boy labor. Mechanical pickers are not recent inventions. Jigs were in use when the National Child Labor Committee first investigated the coal breakers in 1904. They were experiments then but have since been perfected. It took the child labor law of 1915, however, to supply the impetus necessary to bring about the general installation of the pickers. The clause in the law which requires children between 14 and 16 to attend continuation schools eight hours a week is not popular with the coal companies. When the law went into effect some of the companies discharged all breaker boys under 16. One breaker which used to employ 50 boys is now employing 20 because all under 16 were discharged when the new law went into effect. Most of the companies, however, kept what boys under 16 they had on their payroll, and are sending them to continuation school in accordance with the law, but are not taking on any more boys of 14 and 15. Since few boys of 16 and over are willing to do the disagreeable work of the breaker boy at the breaker boy's wage, which averages about \$1.10 a day, the inevitable result is the installation of mechanical pickers. One breaker, which formerly employed 120 boys, was employing 45 last spring after the law had gone into effect and the foreman said that the company was going to put in more jigs this summer so that in the fall only 12 boys would be employed in the breaker for odd jobs. Another foreman who used to employ

* Based on an investigation of Pennsylvania coal-breakers, April, 1916.

110 boys now employs only 23 and expects to eliminate all of them by putting in more jigs. In fact *every* foreman interviewed stated that it was the intention of the company to install mechanical pickers as rapidly as possible so as to eliminate most, if not all, of the boys. Most of the foremen consider the jig the most satisfactory of the mechanical pickers. With the Emery picker, which picks the coal dry, it is necessary to employ boys on the "tailings" as the mechanical picker cannot be relied upon to reduce the slate to as low a per cent as is required. Only one foreman was satisfied with the work of the Emery picker and he intends to install more of them in order to reduce the number of boys.

No feeling of bitterness toward the law was expressed by any of the foremen, and there was apparently no effort to evade it. There was some doubt expressed as to the value the school work would be to the boys but there was no feeling that the coal companies had been harmed by it. Two foremen expressed themselves as positively in favor of the law, saying that they considered it a good thing. It was hard to get older labor, one said, but he did not blame anybody for not wanting to work in the dust of the chutes. (The dust in this breaker was the worst seen anywhere but the foreman said it was not bad on that day compared with other days when it was not so damp.) The other foreman was running a small breaker on the top of a mountain about two miles from the nearest town, where it seemed as if he might easily evade the law if he chose to do so. But instead of that he was heartily in sympathy with it and cooperating in its enforcement. Another foreman produced a card which he said he had received from the superintendent of the continuation school that morning informing him that one of his boys had been absent from the school. "Its up to me to get that boy 'out on the carpet,'" remarked the foreman. Practically all of the companies showed the same desire to live up to the law as long as they had boys of 14 and 15 in their employ but they were even more anxious to get enough mechanical pickers so that they would not need these boys any longer. A jig costs \$500 and since it does the work of 10 boys at \$1.10 a day, in 48 days it has paid for itself and begins to make money for the company. It is the best example up to the present of the economy of automatic substitutes for child labor—economy which the employer is frequently slow to perceive without the help of a stringent child labor law.

IN MISSISSIPPI CANNERIES—A CONTINUED STORY*

(To be concluded)

HELEN C. DWIGHT

Publicity Department, National Child Labor Committee

The beginning of the Mississippi cannery story, so far as the National Child Labor Committee is concerned, was an investigation of Gulf Coast oyster and shrimp canneries by Lewis W. Hine in 1911. At that time he said, "I have witnessed many varieties of child labor horrors from Maine to Texas, but the climax, the logical conclusion of the 'laissez faire' policy regarding the exploitation of children is to be seen among the oyster-shuckers and shrimp-pickers of the Gulf Coast."† He told of children, aged 3, 4, or 5, earning perhaps five cents a day at oyster shucking, and he told of older children, 11 or 12 years old, who could earn as much as a dollar a day if they worked 10 or 11 hours. He said that the children went to work with their parents at four or five in the morning and worked until four in the afternoon, or as long as they could, in damp, cold sheds. Summarizing his investigation he said, "By actual count of the children at work, I found 125 boys and girls from 3 to 11 years of age; and at least half the canneries were working either a small crew or none at all on the days I visited them." When you consider that those 125 children were working the best part of 11 hours a day, beginning at 4 a. m. each day, and that they were working for five or six months in the middle of the school year, you can appreciate, perhaps, the meaning of the opening chapter of the cannery story.

The Mississippi legislature furnished the next chapter the following year (1912) when, largely as a result of the first chapter, it passed a law prohibiting the employment of boys under 12 or girls under 14 in canneries, and prohibiting the employment of boys under 16 or girls under 18 for more than 8 hours a day or between the hours of 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. The county sheriffs were made responsible for the enforcement of this law.

One might suppose that the third chapter of this story might be considerably more cheerful than the first, because of the hopeful

* Based on investigations by Lewis W. Hine.

† Proceedings of Seventh Annual Conference on Child Labor, Birmingham, Ala., March, 1911, p. 118.

character of the second, but anyone who has read the Child Labor Bulletin more or less carefully during the past five years will remember that in 1913 a reinvestigation of Mississippi canneries by the National Child Labor Committee brought to light the fact that children of 5 or 6 and up were still working there during the oyster and shrimp season, on the same time-schedule as before, from 4 or 5 a. m., to 4 or 5 p. m., or until they were tired out. It was evident that to ask a county sheriff, who had plenty of other duties and who probably disliked to bother his neighbors by inspecting their canneries, to see that no little children were employed there was simply asking too much.

So, hard on the heels of the third chapter, came another addition to the story by the Mississippi legislature. This time, in 1914, they created the office of state factory inspector and ordered the inspector to visit the canneries and enforce the child labor law. At the same time, although they reduced the age limits for children working in cotton mills, they carefully added a clause to the new law to the effect that the reduction of age limits for mills did not in the least affect the age limits for canneries.

And now we come to the latest chapter which, unfortunately, seems not to be the last but merely the forerunner of more activities in Mississippi by the National Child Labor Committee, the Mississippi authorities, and all the friends of the children. In February of this year Lewis W. Hine returned to the Mississippi oyster canneries to see how the law was enforced. He found that many of the canneries were closed because of a shortage in oysters, or were working only a small force, but nevertheless, **in the eight canneries he found running, there were 158 clear violations of the child labor law.** There were 73 violations of the age limit and 85 violations of the hours law. The complete tally of the ages (according to the parents) of the children violating the age limit follows:

5 years old.....	1 child
6 " ".....	2 children
7 " ".....	5 "
8 " ".....	4 "
9 " ".....	6 "
10 " ".....	19 "
11 " ".....	11 "
12 " ".....	14 girls (boys of 12 are of legal working age)
13 " ".....	11 girls (" " " " " " " ")

Total.....73 children working in violation of the age limit

Forty-two of these children were also violating the hours clause of the law by working long before 6 o'clock in the morning. And besides these there were 9 boys of 12, 7 boys of 13, and 27 children of 14 and 15, working in violation of the hours limit, making a total of 158 violations of the law in eight canneries.

These children earn from 25 cents to \$1 a day for shucking oysters. They are paid 5 cents a pot and even the youngest children can shuck at least five pots. A good shucker can make as much as \$1.25 a day if the oysters are running large. But this means working from four in the morning to four or five in the afternoon, and most of the children work as long as the adults do. Mr. Hine was careful to go back to each cannery at intervals during the day and at closing time at night, and at each visit he found the children working away beside their parents and older brothers and sisters. Of course the smallest children can not work steadily for 11 hours, but they work off and on through the day, and their parents say hopefully, "Nex' year she be able to work steady."

One of the most interesting features of Mr. Hine's 1916 visit to the canneries was that he found two children there with whom he had become acquainted in his earlier visits. In 1911 he ran across a little chap named Bill who was making 15 cents a day in the canneries just then although he was only five years old. His mother said of him, "He kin make 15 cents when he wants to work, but he won't keep at it." This year Mr. Hine found Bill still at it. He is earning more this year and when you ask him how old he is he replies, "Twelve," for he has learned that there is such a thing as a child labor law which will not let a 10-year-old work but has no terrors for a 12-year-old. But he is the same little Bill, and probably through these five years he has been going to the oyster canneries with far greater regularity than he has gone to school. The other old friend that Mr. Hine met was a little girl whom he found in a South Carolina cannery in 1913. She was then 7 years old and had worked in the canneries one year before that. But now at the age of 10 she has given up working and goes to school regularly because her mother is "afraid of the child labor law."

Naturally, this latest chapter of the Mississippi cannery story will have significance only in so far as it results in a bettering of the conditions. There is very little use in investigating the canneries year in and year out if the investigations cannot be made to bear

fruit. And happily the Mississippi situation does not appear to be hopeless. The state law, so far as canneries are concerned, is good, but apparently its enforcement is weak. So the most obvious step to be taken in Mississippi seems to be to strengthen factory inspection and to insist on the prosecution of violators of the child labor law. That must come through the people of Mississippi itself.

But there is another hope for the cannery children, and that is the Keating child labor bill. Under that law, if Congress passes it, no child under 14 may work in a cannery shipping its goods in interstate commerce, and no child between 14 and 16 may work in such a cannery more than 8 hours a day, or between the hours of 7 p. m. and 6 a. m., and so it is very unlikely that Mississippi canners will find it profitable to employ little children if the federal child labor bill is passed. It may be that there will be just one more chapter in the cannery story and that will be the passage and enforcement of the Keating bill.

EXPERIMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN NEW YORK CITY

(Based on an investigation by SOPHIE D. WHITE, Special Agent, National Child Labor Committee, in February and March, 1916)

It so happens that most of the plans under discussion in this country for industrial education are on trial just now in New York City. For that reason a statement of what is being done there is of more than local interest.

But in considering this subject it should constantly be borne in mind that practically every phase of it is still in the experimental stage. The systems of industrial education with which New York City is experimenting have some of them been tried elsewhere and some originated there, but none of them may be considered more than an attempt to find the best method. None of the teachers interviewed in New York would make any statement as to the permanent form the different plans may assume. Changes and adaptations are constantly being made so that this report can not in any sense be taken as defining what industrial education in New York should or will be: it is quite possible that since the investigation in February and March the systems studied have changed considerably. But as a descriptive statement of the forms of industrial education actually on trial during the current year this report may be valuable.

Certainly New York City, where at least 35,000 children between 14 and 16 have been receiving work permits each year, furnishes a tremendous field for experimentation in industrial training. Until this year the New York State law has required all children between 14 and 16 who go to work to obtain permits on evidence that they have reached the age of 14, are physically fit, and have completed the sixth grade. The majority of children receiving such permits have left school before entering the eighth grade, as the following table shows.

AGE AND GRADE—CHILDREN WHO RECEIVED WORK PERMITS, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE, 1914—JUNE, 1915									
Age	6B	7A	7B	8A	8B	High School	Other Classes	Not Given	Total
14.....	6,113	3,118	2,361	2,102	5,055	1,983	46	548	21,326
15.....	3,529	1,670	1,216	1,319	3,975	1,875	34	267	13,983
Total..	9,642	4,788	3,577	3,421	9,028	3,858	80	915	35,309

But this year a new law was passed, to take effect February 1, 1917, which requires that a child *under 15* receiving a work permit must present evidence of having completed the eighth grade. If the above figures are typical the new law means that at least 18,000 children 14 years old will be ineligible for work permits in 1917 who might have gone to work under the old regulation. Yet the New York industrial education problem continues to involve the children who go to work at 14 with a grammar school education and at 15 on completion of the sixth grade.

DETAILS OF THE VARIOUS SCHEMES

I. *Private Organizations*

John Wanamaker's

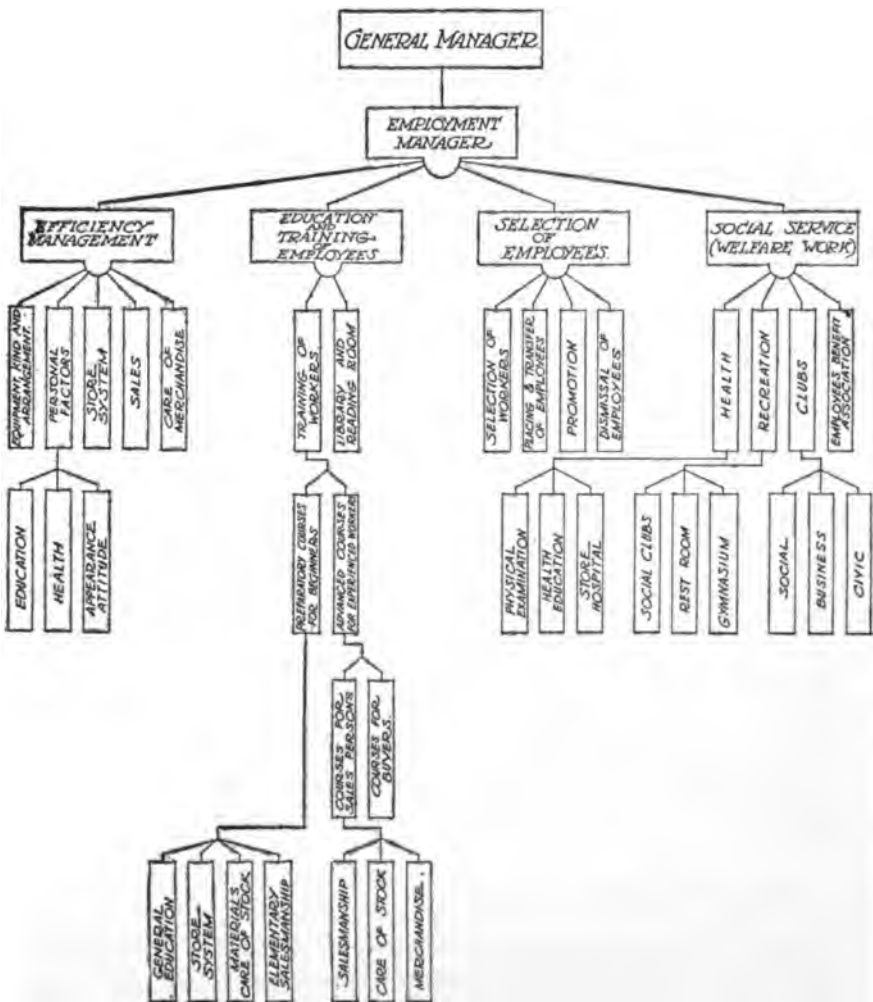
The form of industrial education which probably antedates most others is that given by John Wanamaker to his employees. Founded 25 years ago, it is solely for the purpose of developing efficiency and communal interests. In the school course, which is combined with a highly organized system of recreation, the common branches are taught when they are needed and are followed by work along the lines of store system and departmental training. The course takes two hours a day, three times a week, for each pupil, the average time required for its completion being four years. The work is compulsory. Voluntary advanced classes are being planned for older workers, who, while they do not all see the advantage of study and object to giving time to it, are gradually becoming interested in the idea.

The school is simply one phase, however, of a system which

THE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF A MODERN DEPARTMENT STORE

(CHART FURNISHED BY JOHN H. HAAREN, ASSOCIATE CITY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, NEW YORK CITY)

Charted by Cleo Murland for the Department Store Education Association and the New York Public Schools



includes clubs for physical training, reading, music and dramatics, and a summer camp where the boys are required to spend their vacations, being paid full wages while they are there after the first year when they go free but receive no pay. Military training is one of the chief features of the work for boys, and is now being introduced for girls, too, since it has been found an easy way of handling large numbers of people.

Department Store Education Association

This association was organized about three years ago for the purpose of rendering more efficient the older salespersons in the stores. At present classes are held in two large stores, and since the beginning over 300 girls have been reached. The subjects taught are those directly related to the special store concerned, such as the study of textiles and non-textiles, commercial ethics, system, rapid calculation, business English, local geography, and the theory of salesmanship, as well as the departmental organization of the store as related to the individual, so that the girls may understand the methods of classification used in their departments, the materials sold and something of their history, and the care and arrangement of stock. Physical training is an important part of the work, the exercises taught being especially designed for those who must be on their feet the greater part of the time. Attendance is voluntary and the classes run straight through the year, for one hour a day. The course, at the end of which a certificate is given, covers from three to four months. Post-graduate work is being introduced for those who have received the certificate, to enable them to do advanced work along the same lines. These private classes must not be confused with the continuation classes carried on in department stores by the Board of Education. (See page 12.)

Corporation Schools

The National Association of Corporation Schools, formed three years ago by large firms to promote the training of employees, has a membership of over a hundred business houses in all parts of the

country, employing thousands of workers. An attempt is being made, solely as a business proposition, to evolve plans of education which may be used by the companies cooperating.

In New York the Edison Company, which is probably further developed along these lines than most of the other members, initiated educational work nine years ago and is now maintaining three schools for its employees in which they are required to study special branches relating to their own part of the business. There are three courses, technical, commercial, and accounting. In the first, instruction is given in all branches of electricity; in the second, salesmanship, central station organization, and the history and development of electricity; and in the third, the theory and practice of accounting. A preparatory course in the fundamentals of education was started this year to meet deficiencies found in many of the younger workers, and various specialized courses are given for telephone operators, stenographers, information clerks, office workers, etc., as well as general courses in effective speaking, and personal hygiene (for women only). Attendance is compulsory at those special courses which are directly related to departments of the business. Many of the courses are open to the employees of other companies in the New York section of the National Electric Association.

The school of the National Cloak and Suit Company should also be mentioned as a well-organized plan for increasing the efficiency of employees. Courses in clerical work, the organization of the business (which is in this case especially interesting), packing, wrapping, etc., are offered, and some general instruction is also included, though most of the girls are 17 or over and are preferably high school graduates, so that they have learned the essentials of education and do not need further work along this line. Girls are trained in the special jobs to which they are assigned, but are watched to see if they have any unusual capabilities so that as soon as there is a chance for them to advance they are trained for better positions.

Not all the firms belonging to this national association educate their employees themselves. Some of them cooperate with the Board of Education by allowing time out for continuation classes (page 12), while others are interested in the cooperative classes (page 10). But the main object of all of them is the same, namely

to increase efficiency in their staffs by definite trade training, and to develop a working force which may in time furnish heads of departments and other highly skilled and specialized employees.

School of Printers' Apprentices

A form of industrial training unique in New York City is the School of Printers' Apprentices at the Hudson Guild Settlement. The School, which was started four years ago, has rooms in the settlement house but its main backing comes from the printers' union and the employers. Each contributes an equal amount of money while the settlement gives a certain sum and the rooms. Boys are admitted who have already served a minimum of two years at the trade, thereby showing that they are earnest in their work. The school is designed to make them more skilled, not to turn out more apprentices. There has been dissatisfaction among both printers and employers because apprentices do not receive the all-around training to which they are entitled, but are confined to one small process, so the school was opened to provide the training, as neither the union nor the employers alone would take responsibility for it.

There are 270 boys on the roll, from about 18 years old up. Their employers allow them two hours off with pay, twice a week, to attend the school. As yet only those branches of the trade which are carried on by hand are taught, but the principal expects in the course of time to include others. In addition, the boys are required to come one night a week to study English (punctuation, capitalization, etc.), and the history and theory of printing. The unions require their apprentice members to attend the school.

New York Trade School

The New York Trade School is a private school of still another type. It was founded 35 years ago for the purpose of turning out apprentices in the trades of housepainting, blacksmith work, steam and hot water fitting, sign-painting, bricklaying, plastering, metal work, carpentry, patternmaking, electrical work,

printing and plumbing. A tuition fee is charged for each course, but as the school is well endowed, it is able to offer more than the average in the way of equipment and individual instruction. All the work is oral, and carried on in the shops. There are none of the so-called academic subjects taught. There are both day and evening sessions. In the day-courses the length of time required to secure a certificate in any one of the trades varies from three to four months of five and a half days and seven hours a day. In the night courses it takes three consecutive terms of six months each, three evenings a week, and two and a half hours an evening. The minimum entrance age is 17, the maximum in most cases being 25 (though there are some exceptions), because an older man graduating from the school would be at a disadvantage in securing a job as apprentice. The only educational prerequisite is the ability to read and write English, as all lectures are delivered in that language.

One of the most interesting phases of the school is the close cooperation with employers. For each trade there is an advisory committee appointed by the employers' associations which makes suggestions as to methods and subject matter in the courses. Thus the students get in their training the kind of knowledge which the men who are going to employ them require, while the point of view of labor is obtained through the instructors who are all union men with practical shop experience.

II. Public Organizations—The Board of Education

Preliminary Measures

Five years ago a vocational school was established by the Board of Education at 138th Street, and the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, which had been a private organization, was taken over by the Board, but aside from this nothing was done toward industrial training until 1914, when Dr. Herman Schneider, Dean of the College of Engineering of the University of Cincinnati, and Mr. William Wirt, Superintendent of Schools in Gary, Indiana, were invited to New York to introduce experiments in the two schemes of education which they have formulated. At the same

time the Board started other types of industrial training in experimental forms in several schools.

The Schneider Plan

1. Cooperative Classes

The system of cooperative classes which is being tried out in nine high schools in New York City has for its main feature the alternation of work and schooling, for children who have completed a certain amount of schooling, at least the first year of high school. Subject to individual modifications, the scheme is to find jobs for these children at which they work every other week, and to put them in special sections at school where their studies are suited to the work in which they are engaged. There are two sets of pupils so that neither the school nor the shop is ever left vacant. During the long summer vacation both shifts of children are sometimes employed at the same time, or else work during alternate periods.

In this kind of a school, mathematics is concerned directly with shop problems or with the cost of the articles the girls are making in a dressmaking establishment, while the English studied deals with business phrases and industrial history. Mechanical drawing plays an important part in the industrial course, and local geography is prominent. Where the coordinated work is done in a department store, the school work takes the form of instruction in salesmanship, to which English, spelling, arithmetic, etc., are related. In at least one of these schools some attempt is made to include in the curriculum "cultural" subjects, instruction in music and elocution being given. Here art is studied also, and for those who are working at dressmaking, for instance, it is a study of color and design with the idea of developing a sense of the adaptation of line and color in costume for different types of persons.

The initial choice of the line of work rests of course, with the child and his family, his preference being regarded in so far as possible. The course lasts two or three years, even extending, in some cases, to four. On its completion the graduate is ready to become an advanced apprentice, although he is by no means a skilled workman.

**PLAN OF PRACTICAL TRAINING IN———R. R. SHOP FOR
COOPERATIVE STUDENT AT———HIGH SCHOOL**

(By permission of JOHN H. HAAREN, Associate City Superintendent of
Schools, N. Y. C.)

Before beginning the cooperative work the student has completed at least one year of the regular high school course, and will graduate at Period No. 6. He may complete two years of the regular course and graduate at Period No. 4. This is typical of the progression in other cooperating industries.

PERIOD No. 1	PERIOD No. 2	PERIOD No. 3
Mos.	Mos.	Mos.
July-Aug. (full time)... 2	Dec.-Jan. (half time)... 1	July-Aug. (full time)... 2
Sept.-Nov. (half time)... 1½	Feb.-June (half time)... 2½	Sept.-Nov. (half time)... 1½
Total time..... 3½	Total time..... 3½	Total time..... 2½
1. Store room—1½ mos. a. check and handle supplies. b. check invoices. c. prepare requisitions for materials. d. help inventory stock. e. charge materials used to various accounts.	Erecting shops—3½ mos. or 1. Machine shop—2 mos. 2. Store room—1½ mos.	Carpenter shop—3½ mos. a. repairs to trucks. b. repairs to platforms. c. repairs to windows. d. general carpenter work. or 1. Office work—1½ mos. a. check time. b. distribution of labor. c. form reports. d. check bills. e. locomotive mileage. f. filing.
2. Machine shop—2 mos. a. bench work. b. special work on boiler fitting. c. repairs on air pumps, air tools, jacks. d. lathes, drill press, planes, etc. or Erecting shop—3½ mos. a. helper in wedge gang. b. helper in rod gang. c. helper in steam gang. d. helper in assembling gang. e. helper in valve gang.		2. Tinsmith shop—2 mos. a. repairs to headlights, casing, etc. b. laying out shapes, templates, etc. c. covering locomotive jackets, etc. d. general tinsmith work.
PERIOD No. 4	PERIOD No. 5	PERIOD No. 6
Mos.	Mos.	Mos.
Dec.-Jan. (half time)... 1	July-Aug. (full time)... 2	Dec.-Jan. (half time)... 1
Feb.-June (half time)... 2½	Sept.-Nov. (half time)... 1½	Feb.-June (half time)... 2½
Total..... 3½ (Graduates with 2 years practical training.)	Total time..... 3½	Total time..... 3½ (Graduates with 3 years practical training.)
1. Office work—1½ mos. 2. Tinsmith shop—2 mos. or Carpenter shop—3 mos.	1. Marine department—2 mos. a. helping machinists. b. repairs to condensers, pump, steering gears, etc. 2. Freight car department—1½ mos. a. repairs to running gear. b. repairs to draft rigging. c. general inspection of freight cars. d. general repairs to freight cars. e. general office work and making out bills in accordance with M. C. B. R. or 3. Engine house—2 mos. a. running repairs to locomotives.	1. Freight car department—1½ mos. 2. Engine house—2 mos. or 3. Marine department—2 mos.

Ideally in the shop the child is changed from one process to another so that he may have the all-around knowledge of the business which makes the successful employee, but in fact the amount of change depends on the attitude of the foreman under whom the child works, or the head of the firm, if he is interested enough to care what becomes of the child. In one large manufacturing concern the head is so in sympathy with the experiment that he has arranged a regular schedule of progression so that the boys are changed about once every three months.

Some employers are using these cooperative classes instead of the special, private classes they might form for themselves. (See Corporation Schools, page 10.)

Total number of pupils cooperating, May, 1916.....	486
Total number of firms cooperating, May, 1916.....	87
Total number of schools cooperating, May, 1916.....	9
Average weekly earnings per child (period, May 6-20, 1916), \$5.78+	
(N. B.—Only half the total number of pupils are at work each week.)	

2. Continuation Classes

The continuation class is held, partly at least, during working hours for junior employees (usually those under 16) of a given establishment, the object being to supplement their education. This system was started in New York City in October, 1913, and has been extended until at present about 22 firms are cooperating. Under the State law employers may be required to allow their employees who are under 16 to attend these classes, where they have been established by the Board of Education, for from 4 to 8 hours a week, during work hours. As a matter of fact in most classes the number of hours is 5 a week, and sometimes 10.

The subjects taught vary in different firms, the elementary branches being the most important in department stores, while trade subjects predominate in other establishments. Though the teachers are chosen and supervised by the Board of Education, the question of curriculum is always discussed with the firm. The age limit has been extended in many cases so that any employee who feels that his education is deficient and wants to remedy this defect may enter the classes if he can be spared, even if he is over 16.

In three large hotels classes are held for the chambermaids;

English alone, is taught, as all the girls are foreigners, and so the language is a prerequisite to any further education. In one factory in a class for girl employees the instruction is entirely along the line of homemaking. The head explains this by saying that since the girls are, in the majority of cases, eventually to have homes of their own, he believes it more important to train them as homemakers than to try to improve them in their mechanical tasks, at which a vast amount of progress is impossible. These girls have all been out of school so long that they have left what education they may have had too far behind to pick up any threads, and whereas the instruction they are getting does not benefit the employer, except possibly in so far as it refreshes the workers by furnishing a break in the monotony of their tasks, its reaction on the workers themselves must be distinctly favorable.

In many cases, especially where two hours a day are given to the classes, the employee gives part of the time, that is, he arrives at the factory an hour or a half hour early in the morning, while the firm gives the rest of the time. The firm also gives the room, often a part of the employees' rest room, while either the firm or the Board of Education gives the supplies. Attendance is voluntary for children over 16, except that in some cases the employer has said his younger employee may attend continuation classes or leave.

Total average attendance.....	802
Attendance (date of last report).....	734
Total number of classes.....	39
Number firms having classes.....	23

The Gary Plan

The Gary plan is not primarily designed to furnish industrial education, but certain of its features are related to this subject. Most of the children affected are under 14, that is under the legal working age, so that it must be classed rather as a pre-vocational than as a vocational system. The children receive as a part of their regular education, beginning with the fourth grade and until they have completed the eighth, daily instruction in "special work," which includes dressmaking, millinery, domestic science, pottery, painting, sculpture, carpentry, printing, office work, sheet metal work, science, drawing, and music. The schools now in process of reconstruction will also include foundry and forge work, and machine

shops. Theoretically each child spends 13 weeks, in each of these shops; the children from the fourth to the seventh grade have 40 minutes a day in a shop and 40 minutes instruction in science, while the children in the seventh and eighth grades have 80 minutes a day of shopwork for 13 weeks and then 80 minutes a day of science for 13 weeks. The idea is not to give trade training, but to give the child a general manual as well as academic education of the kind best suited to community needs, and to develop in him some general knowledge of his capabilities. If special aptitude is shown for any one thing, the child is allowed to stay longer at that work, and in exceptional cases, where the child is markedly able along one line, he is allowed to do all his "special work" there. There is no restriction on the basis of sex, so that a girl may go into a print shop, or a boy may take up millinery.

Children go from these schools as from other elementary schools, to special trade schools, to regular high schools, or directly into employment. Since industrial education is simply a small part of the Gary idea, these schools can not be considered in any sense trade or industrial schools.

The Ettinger System

1. Pre-vocational Schools

These schools, like the Gary schools, deal with children in the ordinary elementary grades, many of them under 14, but they attempt much more than the Gary schools to discover the trade bent of the children. The children are given a chance in the last two years of the grammar school to try various trades with the definite object of finding in which direction their talents lie. It is a voluntary matter for a child to enter the pre-vocational classes.

There are at present seven elementary schools in New York City organized on this plan and in those schools there are 79 shops offering 18 types of trade training, including plumbing, sheet-metal work, carpentry, dressmaking (power and hand-machine sewing), drafting, electrical wiring, millinery, printing, bookbinding and home-making. The work is all done in the school and not in the shop, as in the case of the cooperative classes. The academic work is in some cases definitely related to the industries, in others as much "cultural" as possible. The hours are longer than in the ordinary school (usually

one or two hours more a day being required) but the increased confinement is said to be no hardship, chiefly because a greater amount of physical training is nearly always included.

2. Vocational Schools

Vocational schools include the grades immediately following the pre-vocational and therefore draw many of their pupils from the latter. Their object is to give children definite trade training. Only those who have completed eight elementary grades are admitted. If it is found that a pupil is unsuited to the trades taught in the school, he is dropped and recommended to try some other form of work.

The two schools visited were for boys, though the Manhattan Trade School offers similar advantages for girls. The trades open to the boys are woodwork, metal work, electrical wiring, drafting, garment designing, and printing, and in addition a certain amount of academic work is required, such as English, history and civics, shop mathematics, applied science, physical training, etc. The course covers two years, of which the first is usually a trial period to determine the special line of work for each pupil, and the second, a time for more advanced technical training. Each child goes at his own speed so that the amount of work covered varies. The children work from nine to five with an hour out for lunch, five days a week.

Trade Extension Classes

The work included under this heading comprises vocational guidance as well as vocational education, but the two phases are so knit up together that it is difficult to separate them. The children affected are of two classes, those who have not yet gone to work but are of the legal working age and want to find their natural bent, and those who are unemployed for a short time and want to increase their industrial efficiency. A few girls of the continuation class type, also, are sent to this school by their employers who prefer not to have classes in their own factories. The work is under the joint supervision of the Manhattan Trade School and the Julia Richman High School.

Two lofts have been set aside for the school, with a commercial room, started in September, 1914, on the top floor, and a room for the needle trades, opened in January, 1915, below. There are

about 75 girls, the maximum number which the fire law permits, in each department. The sewing-room is equipped with hand and power sewing-machines, tables for hand-sewing and cutting, and outfits for making paper patterns. This is where the first class of girls work, ranging in age from 14 to 17. They come usually from some philanthropic organization or other agency, and are sent with the object of finding out whether they are suited to any branch of the needle trades, or just what line of these trades is best suited to their capabilities. Each girl is put through a series of tests, academic as well as technical, and each spends a certain amount of time at each division of the trade. If her talents are found to lie in one special direction, she is urged to take further training at some regular trade school, but if she must find a job at once, she is allowed to go on studying at the Trade Extension Class until she has found a place. In this way she acquires some rudiments of trade skill and is kept from getting into the habit of idleness.

This work originated in connection with the Mayor's Unemployment Relief Committee in 1914-15, when its main object was to give girls out of a job a chance to maintain their efficiency while hunting work. But as these girls found work their places were not filled, as there has been plenty of work in the needle trades ever since. So the emphasis has now shifted to the girls who are just starting out on an industrial career.

In the commercial department, on the other hand, the aim is still almost exclusively to give the unemployed a chance to keep in training. Regular instruction in typewriting and stenography is not given, although the girls practice enough "to keep their hands in", but there is training in filing, multigraphing, telephone operating, etc., so that the girls may become office assistants instead of mere stenographers. Any girl is admitted for whom there is room, so that varied grades of intelligence and education are represented. The pupils may stay as long as they like each day, and the hours are so arranged that they may have the first part of the morning free to hunt jobs. Tests are given in the commercial as well as in the sewing departments to see if the girl is suited to the work. If it is found that she is not, she is often sent down to the other department to see if she will fit in there, but as most of these girls have worked before and have had some training, vocational guidance plays a less important part here than in the sewing

room. As an incidental feature of the work, health talks are given by a doctor from the Board of Health. Free medical consultation is also available, and girls may get treatment free in clinics near their homes.

Placement is not a part of this experiment, but if applications are received from employers, they are filled so far as possible. If no one is available, the requests are referred to the Municipal Employment Bureau in the same building, and the girls are encouraged to make use of this Bureau in hunting positions.

Evening Trade Schools

The New York State law requires boys under 16 who have not completed the eighth grade to attend night school, unless they are in day continuation classes. One kind of evening schools, therefore, is for children 15 to 16 years old who are regularly employed, the presentation of a work permit being a condition of admission to the school. But here only common school subjects are taught.

There are other evening elementary schools having no special requirements for admission in which academic subjects are taught in conjunction with special trade instruction, which is given "as local conditions require".

The evening trade schools are open to anyone regularly employed and not attending day school. The subjects taught are all industrial, including carpentry, plumbing, blacksmithing, mathematics, applied electricity, industrial chemistry, applied physics, dressmaking, millinery and domestic science. One especially interesting subject is called industrial art and is for "men and women engaged in occupations involving the adaptation of art to industries." These schools naturally receive all classes of workers, and are intended to furnish supplementary trade education for anyone in industry.

TRADE SCHOOLS NOT DESCRIBED

Other agencies offer opportunities for industrial education, but they have not been discussed here because most of them are widely known or offer nothing new in the way of subjects or methods. A partial list of the private organizations is given below. Full details of public trade schools may be found in the yearly reports of the Board of Education.

INDUSTRIES COOPERATING WITH HIGH SCHOOLS

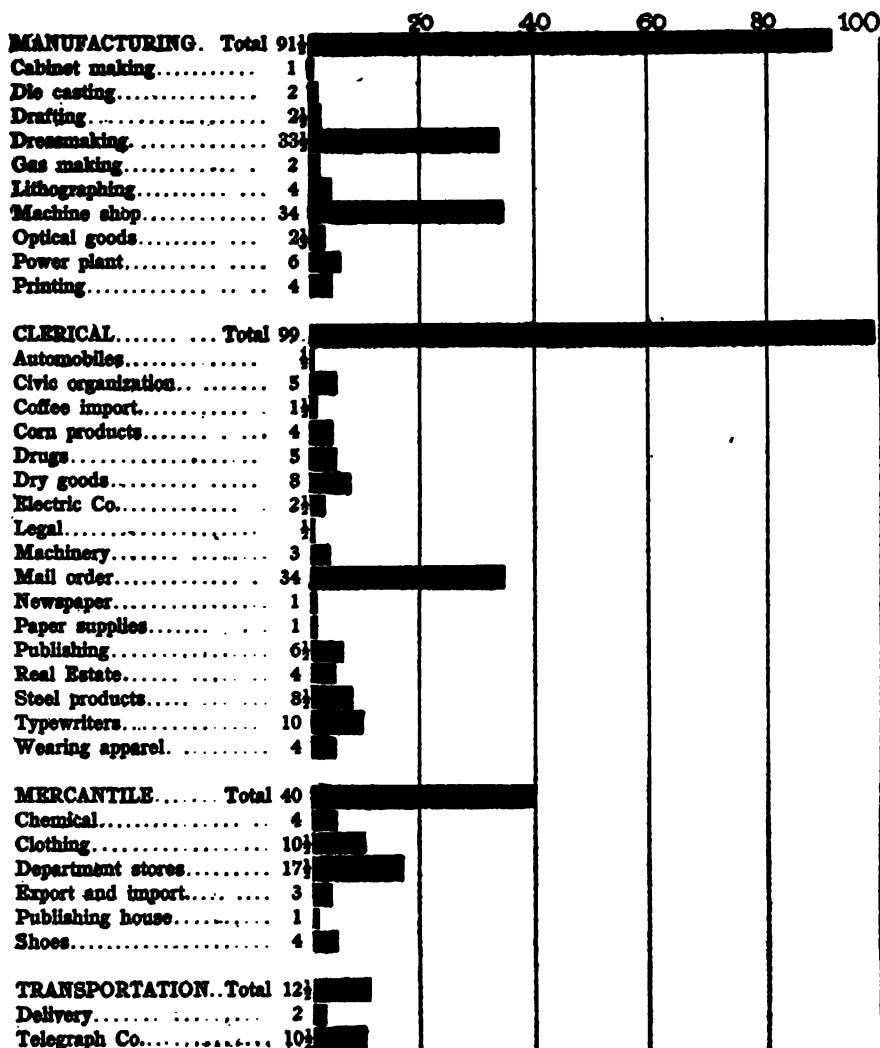
June, 1916

(CHART FURNISHED BY JOHN H. HAAREN, ASSOCIATE CITY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, NEW YORK CITY)

Scale = 20 pairs to 1 inch

Numbers = pairs of students

Total = 243 pairs or 486 children



INDUSTRIAL OR TRADE SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK CITY

Private Organizations

(The following list is in no sense complete, but is designed to serve as an indication of the kinds of schools in existence and as a suggestion for further inquiry. Trade classes maintained by churches, settlements, etc., have not been mentioned because of their great number and local character. Mention in the list does not mean that the school is endorsed by the National Child Labor Committee.)

Bleeks' Dressmaking College, 118 West 125th Street.
 Department Store Education Association, 49 Lafayette Street.
 Grace Institute, 149 West 60th Street.
 Hebrew Technical Institute, 34 Stuyvesant Street.
 Hebrew Technical School for Girls, Second Avenue and 15th Street.
 John Wanamaker Commercial Institute, Fourth Avenue and 9th Street.
 McDowell Dressmaking and Millinery School, 25 West 35th Street.
 New York Edison Company, Irving Place and 15th Street.
 New York Trade School, First Avenue and 67th Street.
 Pascal Institute, 576 Lexington Avenue.
 School for Printers' Apprentices, 436 West 27th Street.
 Taylor School of Dressmaking and Millinery, 15 West 34th Street.
 Wilson Industrial School for Girls, 239 West 69th Street.
 Y. M. C. A., 215 West 23d Street.
 Y. M. H. A., Lexington Avenue and 92d Street.
 Y. W. C. A., 600 Lexington Avenue.
 Y. W. H. A., 31 West 110th Street.

Public Schools

Schneider Plan

Cooperative Classes

High Schools Cooperating

Bryant, Long Island City
 Bushwick, 400 Irving Avenue,
 Brooklyn.
 Commercial, Albany Avenue
 and Dean Street, Brooklyn.
 Curtis, New Brighton, S. I.
 Julia Richman, 60 West 13th
 Street (Girls only).
 Manual Training, Seventh
 Avenue and 4th Street,
 Brooklyn.
 Newtown, Elmhurst, Long Is-
 land.
 Stuyvesant, 345 East 15th
 Street.
 Washington Irving, 40 Irving
 Place (Girls only).

Firms Cooperating (week of May 20 1918)

(Bryant High School)

Atterbury Bros.	} Girls and boys
Brewster and Co.	
Chandler Motor Co.	
Dommerich and Co.	
Montgomery, Ward and Co.	
Neptune Meter Co.	
Oppenheim, Collins Co.	
Riker-Hegeman Co.	

(Bushwick High School)

B. Altman and Co.	} Boys
Ballou Press	
Blanchard Press	

(Bushwick High School—Cont.)

E. W. Bliss and Co.	Boys
Intertype Corporation	
Lehman & Schaefer	
Lehn & Fink	
Mergenthaler Lino-type Co.	
Oppenheim, Collins Co.	Girls
Sears, Cross Co.	
W. U. Tel. Co.	
M. H. Feldman Co.	
Merchants' Ass'n.	
D. J. Meserole	
Montgomery Ward & Co.	
Norma Auto Truck Co.	
Oppenheim, Collins Co.	
Pearson's Magazine	Girls and Boys
Remington Type-writer Co.	
W. U. Tel. Co.	

(Commercial High School)

Corn Products Refining Co.	Boys
Edison Illuminating Co.	
W. R. Grace & Co.	
Leon Israel & Bro.	
The McCall Co.	
Mergenthaler Lino-type Co.	
Remington Type-writer Co.	
U. S. Steel Products Co.	

(Curtis High School)

B. & O. R. R. Co.	Girls and boys
C. W. Hunt Co.	
R. H. Macy	
N. Y. & Richmond Gas Co.	
Richmond Light & R. Co.	
Rogers Peet Co.	
Staten Island Ship-building Co.	

(Julia Richman High School)

P. F. Collier & Sons	Girls
Funk & Wagnalls	
Hill Pub. Co.	
McClure Pub. Co.	
McGraw Pub. Co.	
Riker-Hegeman Co.	

(Manual Training High School)

American Machine & Foundry Co.	Boys
Doehler Die Casting Co.	
Edison Illum'g Co.	
Robert Gair Co.	
J. B. Hoecker & Co.	
E. B. Jordan & Co.	
Mergenthaler Lino-type Co.	

(Newtown High School)

Blanchard Press	Girls and Boys
Boy Scouts of America	
Cammeyer Shoe Co.	
Erlanger and Blumgarten	
Gimbel Bros.	
R. H. Macy	
National Cloak & Suit Co.	
N. Y. & Queens Elec. Light & Power Co.	
N. Y. Times	
F. O. Ogden	
Peierls, Buhler Co.	Boys
Rogers Peet Co.	
Saks & Co.	
Slater Shoe Co.	
U. S. Realty & Improvement Co.	
A. Wimpfheimer	

(Stuyvesant High School)

DeLaVergne Machine Co.	Boys
J. L. King Optical Co.	
N. Y. Railways Co.	
Geo. Schaefer, Jr.	
Schwartz & Gross	
W. U. Tel. Co.	

(Washington Irving High School)

Alperstein & Wittenberg	Girls
B. Altman & Co.	
Collins	
Farrell	
Gillis	
Hackett	
Levison	
Lucile	
Meyers	
Mood	
O'Donovan	
Roberts	
Romanoff	Girls
Slater-Apple & Co.	
Smith	
Snedeker	

Continuation Classes (Week ending May 20, 1916)

Abraham & Straus
B. Altman & Co.
B. & O. R. R. Co.
H. Batterman Co.
Bedford Co.
Bloomington Bros.
Bronx House
Bush Terminal
Collier & Sons
Educational Alliance
Greenhut & Co.
R. Hoe & Co.

Hotel Majestic
Kops Bros.
F. Loeser & Son.
Long Island R. R. Co.
Lord & Taylor
R. H. Macy & Co.
Jas. McCreery & Son
I. Namm & Sons
P. S. 4, Bronx (Bakers)
Richmond Light & R. R. Co.
Rothenberg's

Gary Plan

Public Schools 2, 6, 28, 42, 44, 45, 53, Bronx.
Public School 89, Brooklyn.

(Note.—This system is being extended to other schools. Full information may be secured from the Board of Education.)

Ettinger System

Pre-vocational

Public Schools 62, 64, 95, Manhattan.
Public Schools 5, 158, 162, Brooklyn.
Public School 85, Queens.

Vocational

Manhattan Trade School for Girls, 209 East 23d Street.
Murray Hill Vocational School, P. S. 49, 37th and 38th Streets, W. of 2d Avenue.
Vocational School for Boys, P. S. 100, Fifth Avenue and 138th Street.
Brooklyn Vocational School for Boys, Jay and Nassau Streets, Brooklyn.

Trade Extension Classes—49 Lafayette Street.

Evening Trade Schools

These schools are too numerous to be listed. Full information may be secured from the Board of Education, Park Avenue and 59th Street.

**"I've long felt a keen inward protest
against the inhumanity of child labor.
Never realized my mite could help.
Hearing about your membership takes a big
load off my shoulders. I rush my check
to you!"**

L. M. W., Detroit.

WHY WAIT LONGER?



You too have felt that the child labor cause is practical philanthropy, pressing patriotism; that present child labor evils are not in harmony with the laws that govern human hearts. **IT MAKES ALL THE DIFFERENCE IN THE WORLD IF YOU NOT ONLY FEEL but ACT.** Give vent to your feeling of protest. Send your check to help. Its purchasing power cannot be measured when invested in child life.

(Detach and mail)

Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary,
105 East 22d Street, New York City.

I enclose \$..... to aid in the expense of the investigation, publicity and legislative work of the National Child Labor Committee.

Enroll me in your membership and send me your quarterly Child Labor Bulletin free.

Membership Enrolment for One Year

Associate members contribute...	\$2 or more	(Signed)
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(Incorporated; supported by voluntary contributions)

105 East 22d Street, New York City

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The
Child Labor Bulletin

NOVEMBER, 1916

THE NEXT CHAPTER
IN
CHILD LABOR REFORM

PUBLISHED BY
National Child Labor Committee

The Child Labor Bulletin

Volume Five
Number Three

NOVEMBER, 1916

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THE NEXT CHAPTER IN CHILD LABOR REFORM

*Including
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of the General Secretary*

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TWO POEMS*

THEY WILL SAY

(Copyright by Henry Holt and Company, 1916.)

Of my city the worst that men will say is this:
You took little children away from the sun and the dew,
And the glimmers that played in the grass under the great sky,
And the reckless rain; you put them between walls
To work, broken and smothered, for bread and wages,
To eat dust in their throats and die empty-hearted
For a little handful of pay on a few Saturday nights.

MILL-DOORS

(Copyright by Henry Holt and Company, 1916.)

You never come back.
I say good-bye when I see you going in the doors,
The hopeless open doors that call and wait
And take you then for—how many cents a day?
How many cents for the sleepy eyes and fingers?

I say good-bye because I know they tap your wrists,
In the dark, in the silence, day by day,
And all the blood of you, drop by drop,
And you are old before you are young.
You never come back.

* From *Chicago Poems* by Carl Sandburg, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1916.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Among the matters considered by the First American Child Welfare Congress held last July in Buenos Aires, was the establishment of the 8-hour workday for children between the ages of 14 and 18 years. This standard was declared essential in any program for child welfare, and indeed, the adoption of the same limit was urged for the benefit of adults as well.

Here in the United States the trend toward the 8-hour workday for both children and grown-ups is one of the positive social movements of our time, but in some parts of South America this standard has already passed beyond the stage of propaganda and become fact. The stranger in Montevideo, for example, who strolls out into the streets in the evening intending to make some purchases as he has been accustomed to do in other cities, will be surprised to find the shops closed. The Uruguayan legislature recently passed a law forbidding employment for more than eight hours a day, and the shopkeepers found it necessary to close their places of business in the evening because their salespeople could not work. And so, as the stranger goes from place to place in this progressive little country, he will find in actual operation many reforms that we of the United States have thus far been able only to dream of.

And when he crosses the Rio de la Plata and notes the snap and cleanliness of Buenos Aires and the spirit of self-help and sympathy in her people, he begins to understand why the first step toward bringing together the social workers of the western hemisphere was taken by the men and women of South America. They are less provincial and more spontaneous than we, and so they have a keener appreciation of the value of international cooperation.

The stranger ceased to be a stranger as he listened to the appeals put forth for the protection of childhood in the Congress

last July. When a former woman factory inspector of the Argentine described the lives of many women in her land who were struggling to support themselves and their children by working in their homes for a miserable pittance, he recognized at once our common ills and aims, and felt that at least in the realm of social service the promoters of the Child Welfare Congress were right—America is one. The seamstress who makes four shirtwaists in a work day of 15 hours and for all this labor is paid but a *peso* and ten *centavos* or about 47 cents in our money, while her babies pull at her skirts and cry for food, we have with us also. It is this touch of social failure that draws the nations near.

There was very little formality about this first Congress. There was too much sincerity of purpose and too much realization of the need for action to permit any perfunctory procedure. The delegates gathered to discuss problems and to reach conclusions as to what should be done. The method followed encouraged discussion, for synopses of all papers were required to be presented several months in advance, not for the convenience of newspaper reporting, as with us, but for publication and distribution in pamphlet form among all the members prior to the meetings, so that each might attend the sessions prepared to take part in an intelligent treatment of the subjects which interested him most. At the section meetings the author of a paper read his conclusions and immediately a lively discussion ensued and continued until the matter was settled by a vote. Even in the general assemblies where as a rule there was necessarily little or no discussion, the prevailing spirit was one of freedom from restraint and unity of purpose.

Certainly the most impressive gathering was at the close of the Congress when a representative of each of the fifteen American republics participating spoke in behalf of his countrymen and expressed his conception of what the Congress meant in the universal effort to better the conditions of life and work. The national hymn of each country was played just before its representative spoke and this mingling of the strains of foreign lands brought vividly to everyone present the great possibility of writing into the hearts of these various peoples the international harmony so cherished by this Congress.

EDWARD N. CLOPPER.

Under the presidency of Dra. Paulina Luisi, of Montevideo, the second American Child Welfare Congress will be held in that city, the capital of Uruguay, in 1918. Dra. Luisi is a leader in the medical profession in her country, a member of the board of medical inspection of schools, and was formerly a professor in the national university and the normal school for women.

At the request of the committee on organization of the second Congress a committee for the United States is being formed under the leadership of Dr. Edward N. Clopper, for the purpose of furthering its interests here. This United States committee has as its members Miss Jane Addams, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Samuel McCune Lindsay, C. C. Carstens, Rev. John Howard Melish, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Owen R. Lovejoy, Isaac N. Seligman, Homer Folks, and Wilfred S. Reynolds. The membership will be extended so as to be completely representative of all lines of child welfare work in this country.

Although the federal bill has received the lion's share of publicity during the past year, the Annual Report of the General Secretary shows that the states were not idle and that there is much cause for encouragement in the resulting legislation. Two states which have been flirting with the problem of compulsory education for many years without being able to get beyond the local option stage (Louisiana and Maryland) this year enacted state-wide laws. Georgia which, up to this year, refused to recognize even the principle of compulsory education has enacted a statewide law without going through the preliminary stage of local option common to the South. The law is not a strong one since it requires attendance for four months only and specially exhorts the Board of Education to "take into consideration the seasons for agricultural labor and the need for such labor" with a view to "exercising their discretion as to the time for which children in the farming districts shall be excused" from even the paltry four months. But the principle of equal opportunity for education for every child has been recognized and the action by Georgia, Louisiana, and Maryland can not help but influence future legislation in Mississippi, which still has no

compulsory education law, and in Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia, which have not progressed beyond local option.

Among the other laws passed during the year, those enacted in New York State are perhaps the most significant. The age limit for ordinary employments was raised from 14 to 15 except for children of 14 who have completed the 8th grade, and children employed in the making of motion picture films were included in the stage law requiring permits for children under 16 years engaged in theatrical exhibitions. The amendment to the stage law was recommended by the New York Child Labor Committee after an investigation which revealed startling facts concerning the perilous nature of the work children are required to do in the making of films and the extreme terror and shock to the nervous system which are the frequent results.

We have frequently asserted that 90 per cent of the child labor prohibited by federal law will cease automatically when the law becomes operative because we believe many employers have tolerated child labor only because of the pressure of competition and are glad to be rid of the whole system. The following statement from Julian S. Carr, Jr., head of the Durham Hosiery Manufacturing Company and of several other textile mills representing a capital investment of some \$5,000,000 and employing about 5,000 operatives, proves that this is true in the South as well as the North. Mr. Carr has been for some years a member of the North Carolina Child Labor Committee, has helped promote legislation in that state, and has long been in favor of a federal child labor law. Our records have frequently shown that the mills owned and operated by Mr. Carr were above the standards required by the North Carolina law and we believe their prosperity is partly due to the enlightened standards they have maintained. In a recent interview with the *Textile World Journal* regarding the Keating law Mr. Carr said:

"I am a native North Carolinian and expect to live my life out and to be buried here, but I think the position of my state in this question is wrong. Our state law, while better than that of some states, is not what it should be and is not practically effective in important respects.

"I do not agree with the position urged by the majority of textile manufacturers of North Carolina and other southern states, with respect to the national law's unconstitutionality. Nor do I agree with the position of our two U. S. Senators, that this is a question solely for the state to determine and regulate. On the contrary, I believe the time has come for national consideration—largely because the states have not properly regulated, after long continued efforts on the part of those seeking a more effective law. Too often the cry of 'state rights' is raised as a cloak for delay or non-action.

"My position on this subject has been consistent for a number of years. As a member of the child labor organization of this state, I have joined in the several earnest appeals to our legislature and assisted in making the persistent fight for years for a better law. While some little improvement has been secured as the years passed, our efforts have not been satisfactory to us, on the whole, I am sorry to say.

"The slogan of our mills is and has been always, humanity first and dividends second—and we have managed fairly well to practice the first and reap our share of the latter, as comparison with other companies will show. We shall obey the new law and look well after 'our children,' as heretofore, and the Keating law will not throw us into bankruptcy."

We always knew the South is not as hostile to child labor reform as the action of certain Southern Congressmen might lead us to believe, and the following letter just received from Atlanta, Georgia, proves it:

WHERE SOME
DIVIDENDS GO

"I am enclosing a contribution of \$25 for your work in which I am, of course, very much interested. I do not see how any one who lives in the South can fight the laws to better working conditions and to do away with the labor of the children. I happen to have some stock in the _____ cotton mills of _____, Georgia, and as they have just sent me an 'extra' dividend I wish to share it with your Committee. I believe conditions at these mills are very good but I have no doubt the children are used."

The idea that child welfare laws should be carefully studied and so drawn that there are no overlappings and no gaps is slowly spreading. At present Ohio and New Hampshire are the only states which have revised and codified their laws affecting children but Minnesota, Missouri and Montana have recently taken steps in the same direction. A commission on codification has been at work in Missouri for some time and will have its report ready to

CODIFICATION
OF CHILD
WELFARE LAWS

present to the coming session of the legislature for action. The members of the commission represent the juvenile and probate courts, schools, state university, Jewish Educational Institute, reformatory institutions for children, institutions for feeble-minded children, factory inspection department, state legislature, Board of Charities, Conference for Social Welfare, Federation of Women's Clubs, Congress of Mothers, Consumer's League, and Kansas City Board of Public Welfare. The report will recommend many radical changes in child welfare laws and because of the representative character of the commission it will be interesting to compare the code proposed by it with that of Ohio which was drafted by two lawyers neither of whom was an active social worker.

One of the problems which will have to be settled in Europe immediately after the war will be that of child labor. The barriers have been let down in the present emergency so that children may be employed in agriculture and other industries, and unless they are raised again, fathers who return from the war will find their children competing with them. The British General Federation of Trade Unions has already recognized the seriousness of the situation, according to an article in the Philadelphia Public Ledger for August 13, which we reprint here:

"Child labor is one of the subjects touched upon in the annual report of the General Federation of Trade Unions, dealing with problems to be solved after the war. The report says:

"The management committee has never ceased to emphasize the gravity of the industrial problems with which the country will be faced at the end of the war, and the presence of children in agriculture and industry creates one of the first difficulties which will require attention. It will be monstrous if the trade-unionist soldier returns to find his children placed as a barrier between him and opportunities of employment.

"To prevent such a catastrophe it may be necessary to provide measures for returning employed children to school, for raising the leaving age, and for making this age uniform throughout the country. Such a policy will meet with violent opposition from employers, who seek juvenile labor because it is cheap to them, although it may be dear to the child and to the State. Trade unionists are in this matter custodians of vital interests, and they should immediately seek an educational program which will relieve industrial congestion, provide the children with a liberal

education, and give the State a largely increased aggregate of general knowledge and intelligence.

"It is frequently said that matters concerning the education of children are outside the consideration of the trade unionist; that his concern lies only with wages and working conditions. Fortunately, the trade unionist is wise enough to know that the child competing against him injuriously affects both these, while the child ill-trained and growing into the thoughtless and inefficient adult is a potent factor in the hands of those who would keep down wages and debase working conditions.' "

January 28 will be Child Labor Day this year (January 27 for synagogues and January 29 for schools). Emphasis will be laid on the number of children who will not be affected by the CHILD federal law and the kind of work in which they engage. LABOR The federal law is necessary to the ultimate abolition of DAY child labor and it took twelve years of work by the National Child Labor Committee to pave the way for it. But it is a step toward the final goal, not the goal itself, and many more years are needed before the work of the National Child Labor Committee can be completed. For that reason we hope our members will remind their ministers, school superintendents, and local officials that the observance of Child Labor Day is just as important as ever. Special material for use in preparing sermons or addresses may be obtained from the Committee.

We regret to have to warn the public against deception by commercial concerns playing upon the friends of child welfare for purposes of financial profit. There has just come to CONCERNS our notice the case of a company selling a set of books TO BE poorly bound, exorbitant in price, and offered by AVOIDED traveling agents to mothers, to teach them how to feed, clothe, nurse, and educate their children.

But the mother is not the only victim of the system. The enterprise gets its agents by promising salaries of \$90 or \$100 and commission, but as one agent discovered, "I received about \$6 a week, and even that was paid grudgingly and I had to pay a lawyer to collect part of it." The scheme is the more reprehensible because it probably does not come within the definition of fraud as interpreted by the Post Office authorities, but we suggest to those who desire or are compelled to sell books that they connect with reputable

concerns on the basis of a clear contract. And, mothers, if you need to know about the care of your children, send a postal card to the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., and you will get the information free. This is a service the federal government gladly renders to its citizens through the able Chief of the Children's Bureau, Julia C. Lathrop.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL CHILD
LABOR COMMITTEE

For the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1916

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, *General Secretary*

The Twelfth Fiscal Year is the most notable in the history of child labor reform in America. Within the year the Keating-Owen child labor bill was introduced in both Houses of Congress, passed the lower House on February 2, 1916, by a vote of 343 to 46, was immediately referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, favorably reported on April 19, passed the Senate, August 8 by a vote of 52 to 12, and was signed by President Wilson on September 1. This law, which goes into effect September 1, 1917, has been fully described in our various publications.

We desire in this report to express the heartiest appreciation of the skill, patience, and courage with which Dr. McKelway, our representative at Washington, conducted the details of the campaign. His ability in meeting and persuading individual members of Congress, in answering objections constantly advanced by opponents of the measure, in arranging hearings before the appropriate committees and securing attendance of those who might bring influence to bear, all combined to achieve success and to demonstrate efficiency and despatch.

In making the first public announcement of the enactment of this law your Secretary took occasion to say that, while it will immediately affect at least 150,000 children now subject to the worst forms of exploitation, this direct result will be its least important contribution. The principal value of this Act will be in its tendency to standardize the laws of our 48 commonwealths by laying a minimum foundation on which state laws may build, and also in standardizing the machinery and methods of enforcement which now vary from the few states where good laws are

intelligently administered to the large number of states in which mediocre or poor laws are practically annulled by public indifference and official inefficiency. The 1,850,000 working children whose status can not be directly affected by any kind of federal regulation present the major problem on which the efforts of the Committee may now be concentrated. Congress has forged the tools for an aggressive campaign, and we have been directing the attention of members to the fact that we have now reached the stage where by taking hold instead of letting go we may hope to see a solution of the problem. The infant street traders; the truck garden workers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Colorado, and Maryland; the cotton-pickers of Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas; the 90,000 domestic servants under 16 years who do the menial drudgery in our American homes; the cash girls and errand boys in our department stores; and hundreds of other children in a variety of industries call us to press the campaign into every stronghold of child labor. We must bring the law in every state and the administration of that law to the highest standard that any nation has achieved. Nor can we consider the mission of this Committee fulfilled until we have performed our share in developing an educational system that shall fit the needs of every child.

Specifically, campaigns to raise the standards set by various states for local industries may be summarized as follows:

- 28 states have no regulation of street trades and 20 states have poor regulation.
- 23 states need night messenger laws.
- 28 states permit children under 16 to work more than 8 hours a day in stores or other local establishments.
- 19 states permit children under 16 to work at night in stores or other local establishments.
- 26 states do not require medical examination of children for work permits.
- 1 state has no compulsory education law; 4 states have local option laws.
- 12 states have no educational requirement for work permits; 32 states have standards lower than the 5th grade.

LEGISLATION

Important child labor or compulsory education laws were passed in the following states:

Georgia—State-wide compulsory education law requiring children between 8 and 14 to attend school four months each year. Child who has

completed 4th grade or whose services are necessary for support of family exempt.

Commissioner of Labor given authority to appoint one factory inspector.

Louisiana—Compulsory education law made state-wide, requiring children between 7 and 14 to attend school entire school term. Children whose services are needed to support widowed mothers exempt.

Exemption to 10-hour law permitting overtime in stores 20 days before Christmas abolished.

Maine—54-hour law passed in 1915 and referred to popular vote September, 1916, adopted by vote of 95,591 to 40,252.

Maryland—Child labor law amended raising age limit from 12 to 14 years for employment in mercantile establishments; stores; offices; boarding houses; places of amusement; clubs; distribution, transmission or sale of merchandise; establishing 8-hour day; and prohibiting night work after 7 p. m. and before 7 a. m.; employment ticket signed by prospective employer, stating occupation, industry, and place in which child is to be employed, required before work permit is issued; boys 10 and over permitted to distribute papers on routes between 3.30 and 5 p. m.

Compulsory education law made state-wide. Attendance compulsory between 8 and 14, entire school year in Baltimore City; between 7 and 13, entire school year in counties.

Children between 13 and 15 required to attend school 100 days each year unless regularly and lawfully employed at home or elsewhere.

Massachusetts—Child labor law amended to permit children between 14 and 16 who have not completed the 4th grade to receive work permits for employment in summer vacation, provided other requirements for work permits are met.

New Jersey—Child labor law amended to give Commissioners of Education and Labor power to issue work permits to children over 14 years who study part-time in vocational schools, employment not to exceed 8 hours a day.

Department of Labor reorganized.

New York—Child labor law amended raising the age limit to 15 unless child is 14 and has completed the elementary school.

Law regulating employment of children in theatrical exhibitions amended to include children employed in making motion picture films, requiring children under 16 to have permit, application for which shall contain description of work child is to do.

Rhode Island—Provisions for issuing work permits amended requiring written statement from employer agreeing to employ child, and return of permit to school committee which issued it.

South Carolina—Age limit for employment in factory, mine, or textile establishment raised from 12 to 14 years.

Defeats and Unfavorable Legislation

Kentucky—Children under 16 employed to perform in licensed theatre exempt from child labor law if not residents of Kentucky and if accompanied by parent or adult custodian.

Virginia—Bill providing 8-hour day and no night work for children under 16, raising age limit for newsboys from 10 to 12 years, and improving administration of law, passed the Senate but was lost in the House.

INVESTIGATIONS

The Committee has pursued its policy of collecting accurate and up-to-date information through field investigators.

Following is a summary of investigations conducted during the year:

KIND OF INVESTIGATION	STATE	TIME
Agriculture.....	Colorado, Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York.....	14 months
Canneries.....	Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, South Carolina....	8 months
Cotton and knitting mills.	Massachusetts, North Carolina, South Carolina.....	12 months
Homework.....	New Jersey, New York.....	1 month
Vocational training.....	Massachusetts, New York.....	5 months
Total—14 different states.....		40 months

In our report for the Eleventh Fiscal Year we urged the need of a thorough study of child labor in agriculture. Our present report indicates to what extent we have given attention to this. The report of our investigation of children in the sugar-beet fields of Colorado, published under the direction of Dr. Clopper, has attracted wide attention and is regarded by social workers throughout the country as a demonstration that the time has come to attack the exploitation of children on farms as well as in factories and other indoor occupations. The most significant feature of the Colorado report is its proof of the inroads made upon the education of children by their labor in the beet fields.

TWELFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Twelfth Annual Conference met in Asheville, N. C., February 3 to 6, 1916, by invitation of the Asheville Board of Trade, the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, and the North Carolina Child Labor Committee. The general topic was "Safe-guarding American Childhood." The passage of the Keating bill by the House the day preceding the opening of the conference gave added stimulus to the sessions. Both sides of the question of federal legislation were discussed and it was evident that opposition to the bill by Southern Congressmen was not representative of the general public in the South. The meetings were held in Battery Park Hotel which also gave space for the Committee's large exhibit. Seven sessions were held including a Sunday mass-meeting in the largest auditorium in Asheville. In attendance 129 delegates representing 18 states were registered.

The proceedings of the conference were published in the quarterly Child Labor Bulletin, Volume V., No. 1, May, 1916.

CHILD LABOR DAY

Following our usual custom the fourth Sunday in January (January 23) was announced as Child Labor Day. The day was observed by Sunday-schools, Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Associations, Juvenile Protective Associations, Charities Associations, Normal Schools, and Colleges, as well as by churches and other religious groups. Our records show 8,453 requests for printed matter. Five pamphlets were sent to each, making a total of 42,265 pamphlets distributed.

PUBLICITY

The efforts of the Publicity Department were largely devoted to securing interest in the federal bill through press service, pamphlets, and members of the Committee. Cards were sent to members asking them to place the department's news items in their local papers and to telegraph their representatives at Washington urging the passage of the bill. A large number responded and the department was kept busy supplying the "newspaper brigade" and the "telegram brigade" with the latest information on the progress of the bill. Five special pamphlets were published, some running into

two or three editions, with a total of 20,000 copies. Forty-three thousand copies of the bill itself were distributed.

Our only holiday publication was a Christmas card which proved one of the most successful methods ever attempted of interesting new people in our work. On the card was a reproduction of Mary Ellen Sigsbee's painting "The Immigrant Madonna," and a short poem by Helen C. Dwight, of the Publicity Department. Forty-five thousand cards were sold and orders continued to come long after the supply was exhausted.

A special effort was made to increase the publicity given to Child Labor Day. Personal letters were sent to the editors of a selected list of monthly and weekly magazines, and to artists, asking them to cooperate in bringing Child Labor Day to public attention by means of special articles and cartoons. A most gratifying number responded to the request with the result that Child Labor Day was more widely advertised than ever before.

The number of editors and others wishing to receive all press material sent out by the department was tripled during the year. There were 201 press stories, averaging 16 stories a month. The largest number in any one month was in January when because of Child Labor Day and the preliminary conference publicity 75 stories were sent out. One or more of the statements from this department has appeared in the newspapers of every state in the Union.

Eighty-five thousand, and thirty-two pamphlets were sent out in bulk for exhibits, lectures, etc., and 20,566 separate pamphlets sent to individuals, making a total of 105,598. These went to every state in the Union and to Alaska, and 149 pamphlets were sent to foreign countries in response to 32 requests. The publications for the year included the usual quarterly Child Labor Bulletin, 17 pamphlets, and 6 appeal leaflets, aggregating a total of 4,150,000 pages.

EXHIBITS

We have added new material to our exhibits as additional information came from field investigations, and also to emphasize the importance of federal legislation. There is a growing demand for this material at state and local conferences and other gatherings, and our nine exhibits are in constant use. During the year we have exhibited before 62 groups in 47 cities in 15 states.

Our large exhibit, which was on display during the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, was placed in charge of the Exhibit of National Religious Forces at the close of the Exposition in December, 1915. Mr. G. B. St. John is manager and arranged to handle our material for a year without expense to us.

We have twelve sets of slides and one film in use. Seven sets of slides were displayed during the year before 68 gatherings in 48 cities in 14 states, and the other five loaned to public libraries for local use. The slides used by Dr. Clopper at the First American Child Welfare Congress at Buenos Aires, Argentina, were contributed to the Congress for further use in South America.

OFFICIAL MEETINGS

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Child Labor Committee Corporation and the Forty-fifth Trustee Meeting were held at the residence of Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, 36 West 54th Street, New York City, on November 22, 1915. Eight members, the General Secretary, Secretary for Northern States, and Publication Secretary were present.

The following Trustees were elected for a term of five years to succeed themselves: Homer Folks, Isaac N. Seligman, and John W. Wood. Two places were open on the Board, and Leo Arnstein was elected for a term of five years, and Henry Bruère for a term of four years to fill these vacancies.

Three meetings of the Board have been held during the year: November 22, 1915, January 24, and March 29, 1916; also two meetings of the Program Committee, three meetings of the Finance Committee, and four meetings of the special Committee on Federal Legislation.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The Advisory Committee for 1916 included those who served in 1915 with the addition of the following members:

Miss Margaret Hilles Shearman.....	Wilmington, Del.
Prof. U. G. Weatherly.....	Bloomington, Ind.
Prof. Paul S. Peirce.....	Iowa City, Iowa.
Miss Agnes L. Peterson.....	St. Paul, Minn.
Miss Alice W. Hunt.....	Providence, R. I.

thus making a total of 28 states and the District of Columbia represented.

MEMBERSHIP

The membership record with amounts contributed at the close of the Twelfth Fiscal Year compares with the Eleventh Fiscal Year as follows:

	TWELFTH YEAR		ELEVENTH YEAR	
Renewing Donors.	56	\$17,527.94	58	\$13,165.65
New Donors.....	14	6,450.00	7	700.00
	70	\$23,977.94	65	\$13,865.65
Renewing Sustaining Mem..	516	\$14,249.08	475	\$13,195.70
New Sustaining Mem.....	41	1,260.16	23	625.60
	557	\$15,509.24	498	\$13,821.30
Renewing Contributing Mem.	2,836	\$18,137.03	2,598	\$17,061.30
New Contributing Mem.....	368	2,247.86	361	2,097.60
	3,204	\$20,384.89	2,959	\$19,158.90
Renewing Associate Mem....	3,548	\$7,417.05	3,264	\$6,985.95
New Associate Mem.....	1,200	2,445.61	1,284	2,818.18
	4,748	\$9,862.66	4,548	\$9,804.13
Renewing Contributions.....	363	\$359.11	630*	\$1,440.70*
New Contributions.....	294	609.27	248	3,468.90
	657	\$968.38	878	\$4,909.60
Total.....	9,236	\$70,703.11	8,948	\$61,559.58

* Including 242 deficit contributions from Tenth Year amounting to \$1,098.

Of our former members 84 per cent renewed membership, their subscriptions amounting to 95.4 per cent of former subscriptions aggregating \$57,690.21. A gross gain of 1,917 members enrolled during the year, subscribing \$13,012.90.

The Membership Department continued its educational membership campaigns by means of the exhibit. These were conducted in New Jersey at Montclair, Summit, Newark, Somerville, Bound Brook,

Atlantic City, and Boonton; in Massachusetts at Amherst, Northampton, Tufts College, and Harvard University; in North Carolina at Asheville; in New York at Richmond Hill; in New York City at the City College, at the Biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and at the National Education Association Convention. In this way 875 new members were enrolled contributing over \$4,000. The special value of the plan was in the cooperation on the part of the press, and the help secured from churches, schools, and various local organizations and individuals not only for the membership campaign itself but as active allies in the general work of the Committee.

During the year the *Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow*, written for the Committee by Constance D'Arcy Mackay, was presented for the Membership Department at the Washington Irving High School, New York; Colorado College, Colorado Springs; Pomona College, California; and Oak Hall, a private school in St. Paul, Minnesota. A scene from the pageant was given at the Independence Day celebration at the Stadium of the College of the City of New York. New interest in our work and a number of memberships were thus secured.

FINANCES

The annual report of the Treasurer shows a gratifying increase in receipts. Despite the difficulties due to continued interest in foreign needs, our records show the largest receipts in any single year and the largest balance at the close of the year.

The summarized financial record is as follows:

Balance on hand, October 1, 1915.....	\$369.09
Total receipts.....	\$72,741.09
	<hr/>
	\$73,610.18
Total expenditures.....	\$63,182.48
	<hr/>
Balance on hand, September 30, 1915.....	\$10,427.70

From this amount there must be deducted \$4,767.98 reserve fund to meet accounts incurred during the year, including \$4,393.25 for undelivered subscriptions to the Child Labor Bulletin, leaving a balance of \$5,659.72.

Following is the Treasurer's Annual Report, certified by Haskins & Sells, New York.

Treasurer's Report

For the Year Ending September 30, 1916

As examined, audited and found correct by Haskins & Sells, New
York, Certified Public Accountants**Debits**

Cash on Deposit, October 1, 1915..... \$369.09

RECEIPTS:

Paid Subscriptions.....	\$70,703.11
Sales of Publications.....	1,450.03
Sales of Photographs and Slides.....	36.42
Rental of Slides and Exhibits.....	55.97
Interest on Bank Balances.....	145.91

Refunds:

Exhibits.....	\$266.30
Postage.....	3.75
Telephone and Telegraph.....	34.00
Miscellaneous General Expenses.....	45.60

349.65

72,741.09

Total Debits..... \$73,610.18**Credits****EXPENSES:**

Administrative Salaries.....	\$3,700.00
Clerical Salaries.....	9,006.12
Investigations.....	15,133.44
Drafting and Supporting Legislation.....	6,893.29
Publicity.....	5,931.37
Exhibits.....	2,880.37
Printing.....	5,461.97
Postage.....	2,856.05
Rent.....	2,250.00
Traveling.....	1,322.64
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	1,021.61
Telephone and Telegraph.....	481.71
Purchase of Literature, etc., relating to Child Labor.....	318.24
Advertisements—Miscellaneous.....	20.00
Miscellaneous General Expenses.....	326.90

\$62,603.71

New Jersey Child Labor Committee—Portion of prior period subscriptions.....	150.12
Furniture and Fixtures.....	250.61
Accounts Payable, September 30, 1915.....	178.04

\$63,182.48Cash on Deposit, September 30, 1916..... \$10,427.70

This gratifying report, however, must not be taken to indicate any lack of necessity to press our financial appeals. Unfortunately many people will regard the major work of this Committee finished with the passage of the federal law. They will fail to understand that we have now reached the period of our most fruitful effort. We must therefore rely upon those broad-minded citizens with vision to cooperate in the less dramatic but more vital phases of the task to which the Committee has set itself until our purpose is accomplished. Your Secretary therefore undertook during the summer to interview a few men for the purpose of securing a guaranty fund of \$25,000 annually for the next five years. Not enough has been secured, however, to justify a detailed report at this time.

ADDRESSES AND CONFERENCES

The growing popularity of our work is indicated by the calls upon our staff members for lectures, addresses, and exhibits. The following table summarizes the number of such calls to which we have been able to respond and the geographical extent of this representation. A large proportion of these engagements have been filled at the expense of the various local organizations. Your Secretary, for example, has followed the policy of the preceding year, asking local committees and organizations to defray his expenses, and on this plan has been able to speak 132 times in 16 states, has travelled 19,813 miles at a cost of \$1,117.18, all of which has been done without any expense to our treasury.

The most notable of the conferences during the year was the First American Child Welfare Congress held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in July. We were fortunate in being represented by Dr. Edward N. Clopper, who was able to present in Spanish, the language of the conference, the cause of the working child in the United States. Dr. Clopper was made the representative in this country empowered to appoint a Committee on Arrangements for the next international conference to be held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1918. The growing interest in the protection of working children in other countries is a gratifying evidence that the civilized world is coming to recognize the rights of childhood. This Committee is called upon with increasing frequency to furnish advise and information to students and social workers in other countries.

ADDRESSES

(The following summary gives the record of addresses during the year. Under the heading "Other members of staff" are included Miss Taylor and Miss Wilkie.)

STATE	Mr. Lovejoy	Dr. Mc-Kelway	Dr. Clopper	Mr. Swift	Miss Eschenbrenner	Mr. Hine	Other members of staff	Total
Alabama.....	....	1	....	....	..38	....	....	1
California.....	..6	....	..2	....	....	....	..1	38
Connecticut.....	2	1	....	....	..1	....	....	9
Delaware.....	4	5	....	..1	....	....	....	4
District of Columbia.....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	10
Florida.....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	5
Georgia.....	8	2	....	....	....	....	....	3
Illinois.....	..33	....	..1	....	....	....	....	10
Indiana.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Iowa.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	33
Louisiana.....	....	....	....	..1	....	....	....	1
Maryland.....	..1	8	....	....	..3	....	....	8
Massachusetts.....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	4
Michigan.....	..7	....	....	....	..2	....	....	2
Minnesota.....	41	4	..3	....	10	..4	..2	26
New Jersey.....	5	5	..9	....	9	..7	..7	77
New York.....	..2	1	..2	..9	2	..3	....	26
North Carolina.....	....	....	..2	....	..1	....	....	2
Ohio.....	..10	....	....	....	....	....	....	4
Pennsylvania.....	..2	1	....	....	....	....	....	4
Rhode Island.....	..3	....	....	....	....	....	....	10
Virginia.....	..2	....	....	....	....	....	....	3
West Virginia.....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Wisconsin.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
	132	30	19	11	66	14	10	282

Dr. Clopper delivered three addresses at the First American Child Welfare Congress, Buenos Aires, Argentina, July, 1916.

CONFERENCES AT WHICH THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE WAS REPRESENTED

STATE	NUMBER
Connecticut.....	2
District of Columbia.....	2
Illinois.....	3
Indiana.....	1
Louisiana.....	1
Missouri.....	1
New Jersey.....	3
New York.....	8
North Carolina.....	2
Pennsylvania.....	2
	<hr/>
	25
Buenos Aires, Argentina.....	1
	<hr/>
	26

TRAVEL

	Miles
Owen R. Lovejoy.....	19,813
A. J. McKelway.....	12,000
E. N. Clopper.....	26,600
W. H. Swift.....	10,882
J. J. Eschenbrenner.....	10,208
L. W. Hine.....	20,505
F. I. Taylor.....	1,892
H. C. Dwight.....	1,410
S. D. White.....	1,800

The patient attention which the Trustees and Advisory Committee have given during the year to the difficult problems before us, the loyal and prompt response made by our large membership to every call for action, and the zeal and harmonious cooperation of all members of the staff are among the most gratifying features of the year's record.

Respectfully submitted,

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary.

THE NEXT CHAPTER IN CHILD LABOR REFORM

HELEN C. DWIGHT

Publicity Department, National Child Labor Committee

In his Twelfth Annual Report the General Secretary of this Committee says, "The 1,850,000 working children whose status can not be directly affected by any kind of federal regulation present the major problem on which the efforts of the Committee may now be concentrated." The occupations of most of these children are listed as follows:—

SOME OCCUPATIONS NOT AFFECTED BY FEDERAL LAW AND NUMBER CHILDREN 10 TO 15 EMPLOYED, ACCORDING TO 1910 CENSUS

Bakeries.....	1,267	Laundry operatives (in laundries)	3,627
Barbers, hairdressers and manicurists.....	1,595	Launderers and laundresses (not in laundries.....	8,418
Bootblacks.....	1,831	Messengers (not telegraph), office and bundle boys.....	52,187
Carriage and hack drivers..	853	Newsboys and girls.....	20,450
Clerks in stores.....	7,432	Printing, publishing, etc.....	3,511
Clerks (not in stores).....	12,680	Retail dealers.....	1,380
Delivery men.....	8,682	Salesmen.....	16,329
Draymen, teamsters, and expressmen.....	4,085	Servants.....	89,508
Dressmakers, milliners and apprentices.....	8,418	Stenographers and typewriters...	2,707
Farm laborers.....	1,419,098	Stockherders, drivers, and feeders	3,422
Garden laborers.....	2,659	Telegraph messengers.....	4,612
Hostlers and stable hands..	1,567	Telephone operators.....	2,608
Janitors and sextons.....	865	Turpentine farm laborers.....	1,389
		Waiters and waitresses.....	3,581

Obviously most of these children are working in agriculture, and ten years ago, when the right of a 12-year-old boy to work 10 hours a day in a coal-breaker was considered by many people sacred and inalienable, the suggestion that agricultural workers need protection was scarcely ventured. Yet last year, when the National Child Labor Committee reported conditions of child labor

in Colorado beet fields, the press of the country was united in its criticism of Colorado and its demand that something be done. Colorado, however, is not unique: she is only typical, and the country is just beginning to find that out. Texas cotton-pickers, Maryland and Delaware truck garden workers, New Jersey cranberry pickers, and Ohio onion-field workers have all been studied by the National Child Labor Committee, but it is only recently that the general public has shown interest in the condition of the rural worker. The "emaciated" cotton-mill child has long been, and still is to an unfortunate degree, a more appealing figure than the supposedly "rosy-cheeked" farm-child.

In all its studies of agriculture the emphasis of the Committee has been on the effects of rural labor on the education of the children and at last the rural education problem is being acknowledged throughout the country. The United States Bureau of Education in its campaign for better rural schools published some interesting figures this summer. In some states the rural school term is only 20 or 30 days. Farm children, as a whole, have a school term 46.4 days shorter than urban children, and the average daily attendance in rural schools is 11.7 per cent lower than that in city schools. So persistent in the American mind is the idea that in rural districts schooling depends on crops, that in Georgia, where, by the way, 169,630 children of school age did not attend school last year, the new compulsory education law, fixing a school term of but four months, authorizes the Board of Education to "take into consideration the seasons for agricultural labor and the need for such labor in exercising their discretion as to the time for which children in farming districts shall be excused." And Georgia is sixth in the list of states having the highest per cent of illiterates. Thirty-eight per cent of her agricultural workers, moreover, are children 10 to 15 years old.

It is not surprising that the states having the highest per cent of children in agriculture are also the states having the highest per cent of illiteracy. But it is surprising that we in the United States have been busied so long with the problem of factory workers that we have hardly had time to bother with farm workers. The relation of agricultural child labor to illiteracy is suggested in the following table, based on the Census of 1910, and it is both a serious indictment of our rural educational system, and a strong appeal

to the National Child Labor Committee's friends to cooperate in the Committee's efforts to investigate and solve the agricultural child labor problem.

Fifteen states having highest per cent of children in agriculture		Fifteen states having highest per cent of illiteracy	
STATE	PER CENT	STATE	PER CENT
Alabama.....	46.9	Alabama.....	22.9
Arkansas.....	40.9	Arizona.....	20.9
Florida.....	20.1	Arkansas.....	12.6
Georgia.....	38.2	Florida.....	13.8
Kentucky.....	17.7	Georgia.....	20.7
Louisiana.....	21.5	Kentucky.....	12.1
Mississippi.....	50.9	Louisiana.....	29.0
New Mexico.....	11.6	Mississippi.....	22.4
North Carolina.....	38.4	New Mexico.....	20.2
Oklahoma.....	19.6	North Carolina.....	18.5
South Carolina.....	45.1	South Carolina.....	25.7
Tennessee.....	24.4	Tennessee.....	13.6
Texas.....	29.9	Texas.....	9.9
Virginia.....	15.7	Virginia.....	15.2
West Virginia.....	10.7	West Virginia.....	8.3

Next in number to agricultural child workers are the street traders—messengers, newsboys, bootblacks, errand and delivery boys, peddlers, and vendors of all kinds of wares on the streets. Twenty-eight states have no regulation of street trades and only one state, Kentucky, has a logical, complete regulation. Yet the evidence against unregulated and under-regulated street work is fast piling up. The Maryland Bureau of Statistics* in 1915 reported that 95 per cent of the children committed to the Parental School in Baltimore for repeated truancy had been street workers, that 12½ per cent of Baltimore's newsboys were to be found on the docket of the Children's Court, and that 43 per cent of the children in a nearby reform school had been street workers. The New York Bureau of Attendance† in its 1915 report states that

"The newsboy is thrown in contact with all kinds of people, good and bad, frequents liquor saloons and the back rooms thereof, where

* 24th Annual report of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland, 1915.

† 1st Annual report of the Director of Attendance, New York City, 1915.

women of the street and their companions congregate, also cheap restaurants, dance halls, pool rooms, and many places where his surroundings are the very worst imaginable. Apart from the people to whom he sells his papers, the newsboy comes in contact with older boys and young men in the same business and others who spend their time around subway and elevated stations, also in public places and street corners, awaiting an opportunity to ply their trade as pick-pockets, and other trades of the underworld. . . . In the course of a few years many of our boys become members of the long-fingered fraternity. At first the smaller boys are enticed into games, such as pitching pennies, shooting craps, etc., with the result that the small boy loses his money. . . . He either stays out late or takes to begging. . . . Once a boy begs under the pretense of selling newspapers, rarely will he go back to work as a legitimate newsboy."

The Director of Attendance says further that because of the inadequate appropriation for the enforcement of the newsboy law, "the supervision is a farce and will continue to be such until at least 20 men, on the average, can be employed. If the necessary expenditure is not worth while, the law should be repealed." These two statements made a bad case for New York City in her handling of the street trades problem, especially since the state law gives the Bureau of Attendance jurisdiction over newsboys and girls only, but requires all street workers to be licensed, prohibits boot-blackening for boys under 14 in "shine parlors" but leaves the itinerant bootblack unhampered by legal restrictions, and adds to its inconsistencies by prohibiting peddling on the streets by children under 16 although boys of 12 may sell papers.

As to the need of street work for children, the Maryland Bureau of Statistics has given a body blow to the theory that every street child is supporting a widowed mother. In a study of 1,776 Baltimore newsboys in 1915 it was found that 80 per cent of the boys came from families with both parents living, and not one boy was the only wage-earner in his family. The weekly earnings of the boys averaged \$1.35, but more than one third earned less than \$1 and only one twelfth earned more than \$3, so that the help they gave their families was not great. It was estimated that, although 70 per cent of the boys gave economic necessity as their reason for selling papers, only 47 per cent of the families were in actual need of the boys' help, and that the majority of the boys took to newspaper selling *to satisfy their desire for "real play."*

Considering all these facts and the earlier findings of the National Child Labor Committee in Detroit, San Francisco, New York, Washington, Richmond, New Orleans, Hartford, and elsewhere, it appears to be high time the states tackled the street trades question seriously. In 1910 the British Departmental Committee appointed to study street trading recommended that a high, prohibitive age limit, such as 17 for boys and higher for girls, be enacted for street traders in the United Kingdom because it was obvious that *child labor on the streets should not be regulated but prohibited*. Yet here in the United States only one state has gone so far as to enact a general 14-year limit for all street work, and 28 states have no street trades laws whatever.

A glance at the summary of necessary state regulations on page 142 of the General Secretary's report in this Bulletin will give an idea of the further problems ahead of us. One reason why unregulated local industries must be regulated is that at present they afford an excellent refuge for the children the federal law will throw out of a job. We should like to think that all the 27,000 children, 10 to 13 years old, who will be excluded from manufacturing establishments shipping goods in interstate commerce when the federal law is in force, will go to school, as most children 10 to 13 years old do. But so long as we know that in North Carolina, for instance, where there are about 6,300 such children, they have simply to find jobs in stores, bakeries, ice-cream parlors, laundries, or in any establishment not shipping goods out of the state, to continue undisturbed their careers as wage-earners, how can we be particularly elated at the exodus of children under 14 from the mills, factories, canneries, and workshops of the country? Twenty-eight states have not established the 8-hour day for children in stores. That is, cash-girls, and baker-boys, and soda clerks, may still work 10 or 11 hours a day in many states though their brothers and sisters in factories work only an 8-hour day. Night work must be prohibited in local industries. Dangerous trades need special regulations in many states. In Maryland in 1915 practically all injuries to children at work were caused by accidents which occurred in occupations legally open to children, some of the injuries being so serious as to result in amputations. Yet as the Bureau of Statistics points out, Maryland has a special dangerous trades law which is intended "absolutely to prevent children from performing occu-

pations which carry any appreciable risk of serious injury." This suggests that even where dangerous trades laws have been enacted, they may not be adequate. The 1910 Census mortality figures show that deaths of children in industry are caused largely by accident, while accident is less frequently a cause of death for older persons. For children, 10 to 14, accident causes 42 per cent of deaths, while pulmonary tuberculosis causes 4 per cent; for children 15 to 19, accident causes 26.6 per cent, and tuberculosis, 23 per cent; for persons 20 to 24 years old, accident causes 21.6 per cent and tuberculosis, 31 per cent; and for adults of other age periods both the accident and tuberculosis per cents grow smaller, the causes of death being more numerous. These figures simply substantiate the theory, which has been of long standing but has resulted in too little action, that the child is abnormally liable to accident and must therefore be given abnormal protection in industry.

But the Committee's work is not entirely legislative, and the more we discuss the details of legislation the more likely we are to forget that the child labor problem in America is rapidly becoming a school problem. The conclusions of the recent Cleveland Educational Survey* all point that way. It was found that the great trouble with the industries studied was that the school law in Cleveland was violated, children were going into industry with anything but the right educational equipment, and there was not enough cooperation between the school and the industry. Another point of view on this same schooling question is expressed in the "Relationship Between Persistence in School and Home Conditions"† published by the National Society for the Study of Education, which states that "The amount of education of the parents is the most important and persistent factor influencing the schooling of the children. *Within certain limits it determines the occupation of the family breadwinner and restricts the earning power in any particular occupation.*" This is simply another way of recognizing the "vicious circle" of poverty, lack of education, inefficiency, low wages, poverty, and so on, but it goes right to the heart of our industrial and educational problems. If the father leaves school too soon, he will usually

* Cleveland Education Survey. Reports published by Division of Education, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, 1916.

† Fifteenth Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago University Press, 1916.

be too inefficient and unskilled a worker to permit his children to stay in school long enough. It is not surprising then that in this study of schooling it is concluded that "lengthening the period of compulsory education is of more importance than vocational training in raising our educational standards."

In July, 1916, the Trustees of the National Child Labor Committee issued a statement of their position on the educational question.* To this statement we must turn to remind ourselves of the educational work to which the Committee is dedicated. "The purpose of child labor legislation is to secure to the child the opportunity for proper, balanced, normal development. The child labor problem cannot, therefore, be separated from the educational: to protect the child without providing for his education is impracticable." The mere specific portions of that statement need not be repeated here. But in any taking account of stock such as is required of us at the beginning of this new epoch created by the passage of the federal child labor law, we must not forget that probably our greatest and most constructive achievements will be such contributions as we succeed in making to the solution of the educational problem of our country.

* General statement regarding Vocational Education by the National Child Labor Committee. Leaflet 66, July, 1916, and Child Labor Bulletin. August, 1916.

ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LAWS

FLORENCE I. TAYLOR

Publication Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

Any revelation of abuse of children in industry is usually followed by a demand for legislation prohibiting it. But public opinion which is easily roused to this point frequently fails to go one step further and insist that the law contain the provision for enforcement necessary to its effective operation. The inevitable result is the enactment of laws which neglect to make any official responsible for carrying out the provisions contained in them, or which make an entirely inadequate provision.

NO ENFORCING OFFICIAL

Six states have passed child labor laws which do not call for the appointment of an enforcing official and the natural result is wholesale violation. North Carolina may be taken as typical of the states which hold nobody in particular responsible for the law. North Carolina has a Commissioner of Labor and Printing but the Legislature has refused year after year to give him the power of entering establishments for the purpose of enforcing the child labor law. He may enter to collect manufacturing statistics but may not look for child labor violations. The school attendance officers alone have the power of entry and needless to say their other duties are too numerous to permit of systematic visits to child-employing establishments. The result is that the North Carolina law, weak enough to begin with, is flagrantly violated. One investigator for the National Child Labor Committee in a few months found 118 violations of the law in 28 establishments. If these 28 mills represent the average, in the 308 mills of the state there must be 1,298 children employed in violation of the law.

INADEQUATE ENFORCEMENT

Other states recognize the need of enforcement to the extent of providing one official with a clerk to administer the labor laws

and to collect and publish manufacturing and agricultural statistics. That he must be sadly overworked is evident to anyone who reads the sections of the South Carolina law setting forth the qualifications of the Commissioner of Labor, which are a "competent knowledge of agriculture, manufacturing and general industries, commerce, chemistry and publicity." He is charged with "all work looking to the promotion of agriculture, manufacturing and other industries, cattle raising, and all matters tending to the industrial development of the State, with the collection and publication of information in regard to localities, character and accessibility, cost and modes of utilization of soils and more specifically to the inducement of capital by the dissemination of information relative to the advantages of soil and climate, and the natural resources and industrial opportunities offered in this State; that he also collect from the farmers and landowners of the State and list information as to lands, stating the number of acres, location, the terms upon which they may be bought; that a land registry shall be kept, and in connection therewith, from time to time publication shall be made, descriptive of such listed agricultural, mineral, forest, and trucking lands and factory sites as may be offered to the department for sale or share, which publication shall be in attractive form, setting forth the county, township, number of acres, names and addresses of owners, and such other information as may be helpful in placing inquiring home seekers in communication with landowners." When the responsibility for the enforcement of the child labor law in some 2,000 manufacturing establishments is added to this exhaustive list of duties, the result can readily be imagined. In Mississippi where one factory inspector is charged with no other duties beside the enforcement of the woman and child labor laws and the collection of statistics concerning the number of women and children employed, an investigator for the National Child Labor Committee in one month found 158 violations of the law in eight canneries. The investigation was made nearly two years after the law providing for the appointment of a factory inspector had gone into effect.

In many of the large manufacturing states where child labor laws have been on the statute books for ten years or more and where the inspection force numbers 25 or 30 it has been found that adequate enforcement is impossible because the work of the department

increases much faster than the appropriation for doing it. A recent report by the Illinois Efficiency and Economy Commission says of the administration of the Illinois law, "Legislation since 1907 has at least trebled the work placed upon the department of factory inspection, while during the same period the number of deputy inspectors has been increased from 25 to 30. It has been impossible to enforce effectively all labor legislation for the whole state and the tendency to some extent has been to devote attention primarily to Chicago." A survey of industrial conditions in Springfield, Illinois, by the Russell Sage Foundation, reports numerous violations of the child labor law in that city. Fifty-five children were followed up during the survey and it was found that 40 of them were illegally employed and that in the employment of these children there were 89 separate violations of different sections of the law on hours of work. One 14-year-old boy employed in a drug store worked *85 hours* every other week although the law prohibits boys under 16 from working more than 48 hours a week. The survey concludes that not only is the number of inspectors insufficient but that "another probable reason for the frequent violations of the law is the neglect of the Factory Inspection Department to make public itself the names of the firms prosecuted, and its refusal to give them out to be used for publicity purposes by anyone else. This policy . . . is part of a commendable effort to cooperate with employers in securing enforcement of the law. In this instance, however, we believe the policy has been carried too far—so far as to guard from publicity employers who have shown that they do not deserve such protection. . . . In the case of two large Springfield mercantile establishments whose owners were convicted . . . for violating the child labor law, a policy which permitted the matter to be 'hushed up' was entirely inexcusable, since both of the firms had been previously convicted and fined for a similar offense." If the inspection force is not sufficient to make frequent inspections possible, publicity is an indispensable deterrent.

WHO SHOULD BE FINED?

The problem of enforcement is still further complicated in many states by the system of penalties provided. Some states provide simply a maximum fine with the result that the employer frequently

escapes with a penalty of \$1—a punishment that can hardly be considered terrifying enough to prevent future violations of the law. In other states the law is so worded that it is the parent rather than the employer who suffers the penalty. South Carolina requires the parent's statement of the child's age and provides a fine of \$10 for both parent and employer as the minimum penalty for violation. But the penalty, according to the law, is imposed on a parent who *permits* his child to work when he is below the legal age limit, and on employers who *knowingly* violate the law. Thus the employer is protected by a technicality so that when a child under age is found at work the employer is not prosecuted so long as he has the parent's statement of age on file. In South Carolina last year 24 prosecutions were brought in cases where the age of the child employed was doubted by the inspector although the sworn statements of age on file showed the child to be of the legal age, and in 15 cases the parent was fined the minimum sum of \$10. In one case the child was only 9 years of age but since the parent's statement of age declared the child to be 12 the employer did not "know" the child was under age and no action was brought against him. In only 3 cases out of the 24 was the employer fined. In one case both parent and employer were fined because the statement on file showed the child to be less than 12 years of age; in another case the employer was fined \$10 for *persuading* a mother to sign a false statement so that he could put the child to work; in the third case the employer was fined the minimum sum of \$10 for employing a child 15 days without a statement of age. But in the other 21 cases the parent alone was prosecuted. In a few instances the fine was suspended on the parent's promise to send the child to school.

ATTITUDE OF THE COURTS

Although the neglect to include in child labor laws provisions for enforcement, and to place the penalty for violation where it belongs (*i. e.*, on the employer instead of the parent) makes the operation of the law a farce in many states, yet, even this is not so discouraging as the refusal of the courts in other states to co-operate with a fairly adequate and conscientious force of inspectors. After all, the enforcement provided is indicative of the strength of public sentiment back of the law. If a state takes its child labor

problem seriously it does not go through the farce of enacting a law without provision for enforcement. But where the seriousness of the problem has been recognized and a large inspection force provided, what could be more disastrous than the refusal of the courts to convict violators on clear evidence of guilt? And yet that is what the courts are doing constantly in states like New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin where for years public opinion has been against the employment of children. Typical of the attitude of many of the courts is that of one juvenile court judge, who, on being asked for his cooperation in enforcing the child labor law, asked, "Is it really necessary that all the provisions of the law be enforced?"

In his annual report for the year 1915 the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for Ohio states that in three months 115 prosecutions were instituted for violations of the child labor, compulsory education and 54-hour laws and that *72 per cent* of the fines in cases prosecuted were either suspended or remitted. One justice of the peace dismissed 15 cases on account of errors in warrants *drawn by himself*. A similar state of affairs was reported by the Commissioner of Labor for New York State in his last report (1914). Twenty-seven prosecutions were brought against manufacturers of a certain class of goods, and although the factory inspectors had positive proof, they were unable to obtain conviction in a single case. In Virginia the courts have the same inclination to be lenient toward violators of the child labor law. Forty prosecutions were brought in 1915 and in *23* instances the case was either dismissed or the defendant was assessed with costs.

This inclination on the part of the courts to take the child labor law lightly and to let the employer off easily whenever possible is even more serious than appears on the face of it. It is the policy of most enforcing officials to warn employers who are found violating the law before bringing prosecutions so that when the employer finally appears in court it is usually because he has violated the law after repeated warnings. Many judges, however, proceed on the assumption that because the employer has never been in court before this is his first offense and dismiss the case on that ground. Sometimes they do not hide behind even that pretext but show their partiality toward the more powerful employer by finding excuses for him after the second or third offense. The report of the New York Commissioner of Labor for 1914 states that "in one

case we alleged third offense against a telegraph company and although the evidence was conclusive, the case was dismissed by the judge who made excuses for the good intentions of the company." One judge advised the defendant to change his plea from "guilty" to "not guilty" and then dismissed him; another refused to hear the complaint because the employer charged with the offense was an old friend of his. Sometimes factory inspectors are denounced by the court for annoying "our best citizens."

The following quotation from an article by Dr. E. N. Clopper, of the National Child Labor Committee, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for January, 1916, illustrates the eagerness of the courts to absolve the employer:

"As an illustration of the lengths to which a fear-infected court will go in the effort to shield a powerful local interest from embarrassment, there is the perennial controversy between the New York department of labor and the upstate canners over the employment of young children. Formerly the state child labor law forbade the employment of children under fourteen years of age 'in or in connection with any factory.' The canners nevertheless put such children to work preparing fruit and vegetables for the canning process, carefully placing them in sheds not adjoining the factory itself. The inspectors were not dismayed by this adroit maneuver, however, and appealed to the state's attorney general for a ruling, whereupon that erudite official opined that the law in question was not applicable to the sheds. The local courts were guided by this ruling and child labor abuses grew apace in the canning industry. Then a remedy was sought in the legislature and the legal definition of a factory was amended so as to include 'all buildings, sheds, structures, or other places used for or in connection' with a factory, while the employment of children under fourteen was prohibited in or in connection with any factory or for any factory at any place in the state. But the canners had not exhausted their resources and refused to be coerced. They erected tents and set the little children to work inside snipping beans; at one cannery under a single tent, a factory inspector recently found 180 children under fourteen, some of whom were under ten. Subsequent events proved that the canners had not reckoned without their host, for although four different proceedings were instituted against this company for these violations, in every case the complaint was dismissed!

"And at another cannery where such children were also at work under a tent, the manager calmly admitted the illegality of their employment, assuring the inspector that the company was nevertheless quite willing to assume the risk. That the risk was not excessive appears from the acquittal of the company in the three prosecutions brought against it for these same violations. In another case the defendant naively interpreted the law to his own advantage, testifying that the tent was

not connected with the factory—that indeed the place where the children had gathered was a ‘circus tent,’ and the jury was so impressed by this profound exegesis that it wasted no time in rendering a verdict of not guilty.”

FEDERAL ENFORCEMENT

With the passage of the federal child labor law, it is expected that many of the evils described above will disappear. Under the state laws child labor cases are tried in local courts, usually before a local magistrate such as a justice of the peace. Since he is frequently the friend of the men he is required to prosecute or since his political future may depend on not offending powerful interests, it is inevitable that many guilty employers escape punishment. But when action is brought by the United States district attorneys and the cases tried in federal courts efforts to intimidate will be useless and it is not likely that defendants will escape with suspended sentences or ridiculously small fines. In fact the minimum fine under the federal law will be \$100. The result of such impartial enforcement by the courts will be to decrease to a very decided degree the violations of child labor laws, to stimulate state inspection forces to more thorough work since it will be possible for them to refer their most obstinate cases to the federal courts, and to force the states to recognize the need for including enforcement provisions in their local laws by establishing the principle that a child labor law is important enough to be enforced.

Christmas is Coming!

**You will be looking for something
for the children**

**Give them a Membership
in the National Child Labor Committee**

**It will please them
to know they are helping others**

**It will make them
bigger, better children**

**It will make a bigger, better country
by giving others an opportunity**

**Our Junior Membership
is \$2 per year**

**We send notification of membership
to arrive Christmas morning**

**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
105 East 22d Street, New York.**

I enclose \$.....for Junior Membership of:

(Name).....

(Address).....

Send.....notification of membership as my Christmas greeting.

Signed.....

Date..... Address.....

National Child Labor Committee

(Incorporated; supported by voluntary contributions)

105 East 22d Street, New York City

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The Child Labor Bulletin

FEBRUARY, 1917

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FARMWORK AND SCHOOLS

IN

KENTUCKY

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National Child Labor Committee

The Child Labor Bulletin

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FARMWORK AND SCHOOLS IN KENTUCKY

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COMMITTEE**

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NEWS NOTES

The Thirteenth Annual Conference will be held at Baltimore, March 23, 24, and 25. The tentative program includes the following topics: Making Child Labor Laws Effective; Codification of Child Welfare Laws; Child Labor an Obstacle to Social Reform; Reports from States Presenting Unusual Problems and Conditions; Vocational Education; Federal Aid to Elementary Education; and Safeguarding Childhood in Peace or War. With the passage of the federal law the opportunity has come to discuss in the Conference other topics than legislation and for this reason the Conference promises to be particularly interesting and valuable to those who are more concerned with the education, health, and delinquency of working children and the actual workings of legislation, than with the passage of laws. Special efforts are being made to secure the attendance of a large number of state labor and school officials as well as specialists along all lines of child welfare.

The Committee's investigation into the employment of children in agriculture is being continued in Oklahoma this year. At the request of Dr. Stratton D. Brooks, president of the University of Oklahoma, and former superintendent of schools in Boston, the study has been extended to include other phases of child welfare as well as child labor. In a letter to the National Child Labor Committee Dr. Brooks said: "I would be very glad to see your study cover Motion Pictures; Parental Control; Health and Hygiene; Dependent and Corrective Institutions, especially the manner and method of commitment and parole from the latter; School Attendance and Child Labor; Juvenile Courts and their relation to school attendance;

Mothers' Pensions, etc. At the present time our information on these subjects is inadequate. Inasmuch as you have the facilities for making such a study, I would be glad to have you make it and report the results to the University." The survey is being carried on under the direction of Dr. Clopper, and seven special agents of the Committee are now in the field.

A bill establishing a 14-year limit for children who work in the beet-fields has been introduced in the Colorado legislature and promises to be one of the main events of the legislative season. The bill has the backing of the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs, the Denver Federation of Women's Clubs and the State Mothers' Congress but it is evident it will meet with considerable opposition. A committee of ministers from the beet sections, beet-growers, and beet labor contractors has already appeared against the bill, and legislators have been urged to visit beet sections in person to "see for themselves," as the cotton mill men of the South used to put it, how little harm the work does the children. This is the first attempt that has been made in any state to include agriculture among the occupations prohibited to children under 14. In Nebraska the 8-hour day applies to employment in the beetfields, but Colorado is a pioneer state in its campaign for an age limit for agricultural employment.

One result of the Committee's study of Colorado beetworkers was a similar study "in miniature" of the beetworkers of Wisconsin undertaken by the St. Elizabeth's Settlement of the *Central Verein*, St. Louis, and reported in the February number of *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*. The Wisconsin beetworkers, it appears are largely migrants, going to the beetfields from St. Louis. They are Hungarians, both German and Magyar, and, according to the report, over 100 families of them went from St. Louis and the vicinity to the Wisconsin beetfields in the early spring of 1916, staying until November. They were each apportioned a tract of land for the cultivation and harvesting of which they received \$18 to \$19 an acre. The report is most interesting from the Committee's point

of view because it corroborates our findings in Colorado. "It may be stated in the very beginning," says the report, "that one of the conditions set down as particularly desirable in applicant families was the presence of young children who could be used to work in the fields—a very significant fact. In only four of the seven families, however, (only seven families were studied intensively as this was but a miniature survey) were children found. These were quite young, two being 15, one 12, one 11, two 5, and one 4. All of these with the exception of one 4-year-old child, worked in the fields along with their parents. . . . The average hours for the day were 12 to 13 for all, children included. . . . The general results of the study . . . tend to show that children should be eliminated from work in the fields and that families which have children should be discouraged from going to such work. *The children of the immigrants have enough handicap already to start with. . . . Children taken out of school in April and not returned until November cannot possibly get the proper benefit of their schooling. It is also quite apparent that the long hours of work cannot prove good for their health, even though they are at work in the open air.*" This report, though by no means comprehensive, suggests the increasing interest in the condition of child agricultural workers in this country. If all of the National Child Labor Committee's agricultural studies are to be followed by as many results as the Colorado beet study, it will not be long before America really knows something about her farm workers.

Much has been said recently about the children the federal law can not reach but now comes the news that the law may cover a form of employment which has hitherto frequently escaped all attempts to control it. We refer to the employment of children in state reformatories. WHERE THE FEDERAL LAW WILL STRIKE The State Finance Board of Connecticut in its report to the legislature gave as a possible cause of increased cost of maintenance the fact that the federal child labor law may prevent a large number of boys in the state school from working because they are under the age limit set by the law. This would make it necessary for a large part of the goods produced there to be made elsewhere, according to the report, and the result would be a considerable reduction in the income and an increase

in the expense of the school. The National Child Labor Committee and Connecticut are to be congratulated that the federal law will protect children who are frequently exploited for the benefit of the state in the name of reform.

Cecil Leeson, of the Howard Association (England), has recently published a study of juvenile delinquency in England as affected by the war. This small volume, called "The Child

THE CHILD and the War," contains some statistics but is by AND THE WAR no means complete because, as the preface states, "The country is too preoccupied for exact statistics to be prepared." It is based on the fact that, according to available figures, juvenile offences have increased 34 per cent since the beginning of the war, and the increase in thefts has been 50 per cent. In a most interesting chapter on the causes of this increase Mr. Leeson touches the juvenile employment situation in wartime. "We have it on the authority of Sir James Yoxall, M. P.," he says, "that from 150,000 to 200,000 children between the ages of 11 and 13 have been . . . released (from school to go to work). It can not be mere coincidence that delinquency among lads of 12 and 13 has increased in greater proportion than it has among lads of other age groups." The abnormally high wages now earned by children, lack of parental discipline because of the absence of the father at the front or the mother at the munitions factory, the sudden change from school discipline to the independence of a wage-earner, the interruption of club work for boys, darkened streets,—in short, the whole abnormal war atmosphere is blamed for the delinquency of so many children. The study dovetails into the school reports and recommendations on Juvenile Employment from the Health of Munition Workers Committee which have come to us from time to time, and completes the picture of what war means to Great Britain's children. It reminds one of the child's exclamation in "The Bonfire" by Robert Frost. "Oh, but war's not for children—it's for men." Apparently the grown-up was quite justified in answering,

"Haven't you heard what we have lived to learn?

Nothing so new—something we had forgotten:

War is for everyone, for children too."

The italics are Mr. Frost's.

The United States Committee for the second American Child Welfare Congress, to be held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1918, is now complete and has as its members: Julia C.

SECOND Lathrop, President; Dr. Edward N. Clopper,
AMERICAN Secretary; Jane Addams, Harry E. Bard, Amos
CHILD WELFARE W. Butler, C. C. Carstens, P. P. Claxton, Josiah
CONGRESS E. Cowles, Martha P. Falconer, Livingston
Farrand, Bernard Flexner, Homer Folks, John
P. Frey, Alexander Johnson, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Owen R.
Lovejoy, J. Howard Melish, Wilfred S. Reynolds, John A. Ryan,
Isaac N. Seligman, and Stephen S. Wise.

The Committee distributed 9,905 sets of pamphlets to school superintendents, teachers, clergymen, club leaders, state child labor committees, Y. M. C. A.'s, colleges, libraries, and
CHILD LABOR other organizations and individuals, who requested
DAY them for use on Child Labor Day. The "Pageant
of Sunshine and Shadow" was given on Child Labor
Day by 24 schools, clubs, and local groups. There was an unusual
amount of newspaper publicity, 26 periodicals published special
child labor articles in their January numbers, and a large number of
periodicals published editorials or notes based on material sent out
from this office. Altogether the day seems to have been widely
observed, but its results cannot be accurately estimated since they
are necessarily cumulative.

Four special Child Labor Day pamphlets were issued this year.
"Child Labor in Your State" and the "Weak Spots in Child Labor
Laws," pamphlets 267 and 268, were published
PUBLICATIONS especially for the use of clubs and study classes
interested in child labor reform in general and local
problems in particular. "More Education Pays," pamphlet 270, is
a syllabus for the use of teachers in discussing labor and industrial
conditions and giving children an idea of the actual processes in
certain common industries. Copies of it have been sent to school
superintendents throughout the country with a letter suggesting
that the material in the pamphlet may be used to persuade child-
ren to remain in school longer. The other Child Labor Day
publication was "Observe Child Labor Day," pamphlet 273, a

brief plea for cooperation in the Committee's work. The "Twelfth Annual Report of the General Secretary," and "Enforcement of Child Labor Laws," by Florence I. Taylor, were reprinted from the October Bulletin, and "Street Trades Regulation," by Edward N. Clopper, from the August Bulletin. An article, "The Federal Child Labor Law," by Dr. Clopper, which appeared in the *Elementary School Journal* for January, has also been reprinted. Copies of any of these pamphlets will be sent members of the Committee on request.

FARMWORK AND SCHOOLS IN KENTUCKY

(This study was made in the spring, summer and autumn of 1916, under the direction of the writer. The field work was done by Sophie D. White, Eunice Sinclair, Lewis W. Hine, Eva Joffe and W. H. Swift. The photographs are by Lewis W. Hine. The statistical compilations are by Eva Joffe.)

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.,
Secretary for the Northern States

The latest federal Census of Occupations, taken in April 1910, credits Kentucky with 64,692 child workers, 10 to 15 years of age, of whom 82 per cent are reported as agricultural laborers, most of them on the home farm. The proportion of farm workers to the total number of child laborers is larger in the state than in the nation, those in agricultural pursuits in the entire country being slightly less than 72 per cent of all those engaged in gainful occupations.

Although constituting the great majority of child laborers, these boys and girls on farms have never been considered as connected with the child labor problem. The popular conception of child labor is limited to employment for wages in factories, mines, and stores, and the farm has long been looked upon as the ideal place for a child. This conviction has been strengthened by the revelations of bad conditions surrounding the city child, whether a worker in a factory, a trader in the streets, or a dweller in a tenement. The sunshine, fresh air, supposedly good food and living quarters, communion with nature, and opportunity for a variety of constructive work, generally pictured as the lot of the country child, have been contrasted with the dismal atmosphere, wretched home, dreary outlook upon brick walls, and monotonous work in a factory which have become fixed in the public mind as the inevitable portion of the city child. Whether or not the child on the farm is relatively so fortunate as he is pictured is a question that

is beginning to be asked. A few comparisons of the health and physical development of city and country children have been made, and indicate that the former are stronger and less subject to disease than the latter, but no comprehensive findings are yet available.



Eleven-year-old girl whose father said, "She's the only farm hand I got—helps in the field and the house too and is good in school." August, 1916.

This report does not undertake to deal in any way with the physical condition of country children, nor with the physical effects of the tasks they perform on farms—such matters could be determined only through studies by especially qualified physicians,

of a large number of children, covering a period of years. This report is concerned only with the interference of farmwork with the attendance of children at rural schools.

The child labor laws of the states do not apply specifically to agriculture, although an act of Nebraska forbids children under 16 years of age to work in beet fields at night or more than eight hours a day, and one of New York provides that boys over 12 years of age must not work more than six hours a day in gathering produce, whatever that may mean. In the report of the Children's Code Commission of Missouri, submitted to the legislature this year, a law is recommended providing that children under 14 years of



Thirteen-year-old worker who drives dairy wagon in morning and does farm work in afternoon for \$3.25 per week. May, 1916.

age may work at agricultural pursuits not more than six hours daily, but not in school hours.

The only restrictions in the statutes of Kentucky that apply to child workers on farms concern their attendance at school, and these are somewhat contradictory. One provides that children between 7 and 12 years of age inclusive, living in rural districts, except those not in proper physical or mental condition, shall attend school regularly throughout the common school term, unless taught at home; the other forbids anyone to employ a child under 14 years of age at any kind of work, at any time while the public schools

where he resides are in session. There is a hiatus of one year between the maximum age of the compulsory education law and the minimum age of the child labor law—the 13-year-old child in the country not being required to attend school, and yet not permitted to work at any occupation while the schools are in session. However, these laws are very generally disregarded in the rural communities, so this discrepancy is apparent only on the statute books.

For the purposes of this study the counties of Nicholas, Clark, Rockcastle, Hardin, Warren, Henderson and Trigg were selected because of their geographical distribution and because it is believed their conditions are fairly typical of what exists generally in the sections of which they form a part. In all these counties from 80 to 95 per cent of the land area is in farms, but the value of the farm land, according to the federal Census of 1910, ranges from less than \$10 per acre in Trigg and Rockcastle counties to from \$50 to \$75 per acre in Nicholas and Clark counties.

The economic situation of the small farmer must be discussed in some detail, because it may be that under the customary arrangements for sharing products with the land owner, for borrowing money and obtaining credit at stores, he is unable to keep his children in school throughout the term on account of the demands of his work, and his inability to hire labor. If this is true, mere enforcement of the compulsory education law will not bring about the desired results.

Prior to, and for some years following the Civil War, the plantation was the common farm unit in a large part of Kentucky, and the average size of farms was relatively large. But in the past half century the plantations have been divided into small parcels of land, most of which are cultivated by tenants. Each one of these parcels is now returned by the federal Census Bureau as a farm and each tenant as a farmer, whether or not the owner lives on the land and directs the work. For this reason the number of farms in Kentucky has increased greatly since the Civil War, while the farm area has grown but slightly. In 1910 two-thirds of the farms were operated by their owners (including a few operated by managers for the owners), and one-third by tenants. In 1890 the corresponding proportions were three-fourths and one-fourth. Of all the farm operators reported in 1910, including owners, managers, and tenants, 94.7 per cent were native white persons,

less than one per cent were foreign-born whites and 4.5 per cent were negroes and other non-white persons.

The Census Bureau defines a tenant plantation as a continuous tract of land of considerable area under the general supervision of a single individual or firm, all or a part of such tract being divided into at least five smaller tracts which are leased to tenants. A good example of such a tenant plantation was found in one of the counties covered by this inquiry. It consists of one thousand acres of land, the owner residing with his wife and children on that part of the property which he himself uses, the rest being leased



A 13-year-old hired hand who works for a farmer from 4 a. m. to 6 p. m. for \$1.25 per week and board. He was in the fourth grade at school. May, 1916.

to six tenants. The owner is also proprietor of a store, and sells goods to his tenants, charging interest at the rate of six per cent on accounts due. When the crops are sold such debts are usually settled. There is no mortgage on the land, and the owner hires two men throughout the year to do his farm work. Yet, in spite of his ability to give his children a thorough education, his 14-year-old son attended school only four days in the first

three months of this school year, his absences having been caused by work in his father's tobacco fields.

A tenant is usually not free to run his farm as he sees fit, as in the northern states, but is under the direction of the owner, who dictates what shall be raised and the acreage that shall be devoted to each crop, often superintending the work from time to time. Because of the interests of the land owners the tenant is virtually obliged to grow tobacco and he has to sell it at the price he can get. He is not unlike the hired laborer, receiving a share of the crop instead of cash wages. The parcel of land he works is small,

as a rule, consisting of about as many acres as he can cultivate with the help of his whole family. When the tenant has his own team and implements and supplies feed and seed himself, he commonly receives two-thirds of the crop, and the landlord the remainder. But if the landlord supplies everything, each takes one-half the crop. Sometimes the owner or tenant engages a man to cultivate tobacco for a season on a small parcel of land, supplying him with team, implements, and seed, and paying him one-half the crop for his labor. Such a worker is known as a cropper. Even with a tenant, in most cases the lease is for one year only and many tenants move annually from farm to farm, hoping each



Plough boys, May, 1916.

year to improve their condition. Therefore they take no interest in keeping the property they use in good condition, and it is not surprising that discontent and shiftlessness are chronic.

Tenants as a rule lack funds with which to pay for groceries, household goods, clothing, shoes, and other necessities when purchased at the local store, so credit is allowed until the tobacco is sold. Ten months or more often lapse between the sowing and the sale of the crop, the tenant living practically on credit during this time. Hence when money comes in at last a good part of it goes to the storekeeper. But very often credit is not given unless the owner of the land cultivated by the tenant guarantees payment, and indeed

the owner is forced to assume this obligation in order to secure a tenant for his property and thereby protect his own interests. The arrangement varies according to local custom. Sometimes the storekeeper charges interest on the credit granted, especially after the first of January following the season when the debt was incurred. Sometimes the prices charged credit customers are higher than those paid by cash customers, but the purchaser is usually ignorant of the difference, and even of the fact that there is any increase in prices. If the tenant has not paid what he owes by the end of the year, he is asked in some places to give a note bearing six per cent interest. In other places credit is allowed for only thirty days, no interest being charged and the prices being the same as for cash. At times the landowner may sell the entire crop produced by his tenant or cropper, and out of the proceeds of the latter's half pay the store account, which he had agreed to stand good for. Frequently the tobacco crop is mortgaged. This is



Gathering rye in school hours. The boys are 10 and 12 years old.
August, 1916.

done usually after it has been "housed," but sometimes in the spring, just after the plants have put out leaves. The farmer borrows an amount equivalent to about one-fifth of the crop's value.

In spite of the general shiftlessness and incompetence of the migratory tenant, it would seem that there is some justification for his failure to comply fully with the requirements of school attendance for his children. One public school trustee declared that illiteracy in the tobacco-growing sections of the state is due to the low price paid for the product, that 75 per cent of it is grown by small farmers and tenants, and that prior to last year they did not receive enough for the crop to cover the cost of production. He continued: *"Give us a fair price for our tobacco, and I will guarantee that the farmers will send their children to school and illiteracy will be wiped out."*

Kentucky leads the states in the production of tobacco, which forms more than a quarter of its agricultural products. Farmers begin preparations for its culture in the winter, and the crop is marketed generally in the following autumn. Many follow the



Fourteen-year-old boy "hired" by a tenant farmer to "worm" tobacco while school is in session. August, 1916.

custom of planting tobacco every year in the same field until the ground is worn out, turning then to another field. The yield is therefore often small and the condition of the farm and farm buildings reflects this indifference and unskillful management. The number of acres a farmer can cultivate varies somewhat accord-



Topping tobacco in school hours. August, 1916.

ing to conditions, the average being about three acres, and in determining the number even a child 9 years of age is considered a "hand." Although so young a child is not strong enough to perform as much work as a grown person in all the processes of tobacco culture, in removing worms and suckers from the plants

he is just as active and efficient. Children commonly work as many hours as do the older persons—from sunrise to sunset—planting, hoeing, cultivating, worming, suckering, topping, cutting, spiking, housing, and stripping. Indeed the only task in tobacco culture which children do not perform is firing, which is done in the barn where the crop is housed and requires the care and judgment of an adult.

The other farmwork in which children help in the school term, and which thereby prevents their regular attendance at classes, includes plowing, cultivating and cutting corn, filling silos, threshing grain, picking berries, making hay, and drying apples.

The school term in the rural districts is usually seven months and schools often open early in July so that they may be closed before the winter weather makes the roads impassable for the children. This period coincides with the busy season on the farms, particularly in tobacco culture, and in this conflict between work and school attendance the odds are at present in favor of the work.

Evidence of the way in which farmwork interferes with schooling is shown in the following examples:—

In the southwestern part of the state, for instance, a certain tenant lives with his wife and family of five children, the oldest of whom is 11 years of age, on a small farm having had nine acres in tobacco and fourteen in corn last summer. Last year was their first season on this place and they received one-half of the crops in return for their labor. No help was hired, but the 9 and 11-year-old sons worked with their father in the fields. Last autumn when the school in the vicinity was visited, the register showed that out of the 74 school days that had then passed since the opening of the term early in July, these two boys had each missed 45 days—more than two school months. The entire absence of the older boy was due to tobacco culture, and his 9-year-old brother had been out 25 days for the same reason and 20 days because of illness.

In Warren County a cropper lived last year on a few acres of land with his wife, four sons and three daughters, having seven acres in tobacco. They were so poor the county was furnishing clothing and school books free to the children. The land was sublet from a tenant, who supplied him with team and implements, and guaranteed the payment of his bill at the local store. The oldest child, a girl of 14 years was absent from school 34 days out of the



Nine- and 15-year-old boys "chopping corn", in school hours.
August, 1916.

74 school days in the first four months of the present term, which began early last July; the 12, 11, and 8-year-old boys were absent 43, 41 and 33 days, respectively. All of these absences were due to farmwork, most of it tobacco culture, but about one-half of the absences of the youngest boy were caused by work about his home.

In Trigg County a man has lived for three years on a small rented farm with his wife, three sons and two daughters. They supply what they need themselves, and the land owner takes one-third of their crop. Last year they had three acres in tobacco and twenty in corn. The local store allows them credit for only thirty days. No one is hired to assist in the work of the farm, and the children help their father steadily. The 10-year-old son was absent from school 51 days out of the 74 in the first four months of this school year.

In another county an industrious family of father, mother, seven boys and two girls, who have long been tenants, have recently bought a farm. To meet their special needs, the head of the family borrows money, and is obliged to pay a bonus of four per cent in

addition to interest at the rate of six per cent, thus enabling the lender to avoid the consequences under the state usury law; this is said to be a common arrangement with small farmers in that locality. Their store credit runs as high as \$200 at times, on which they pay no interest but are charged higher prices than cash customers, which amounts to the same thing. The local school trustee is active and influential in school matters, and through his personal interest the oldest boy in this family has been in high school three years, three of the other boys have completed the eighth grade, and four others are enrolled in school. The two girls attend regularly, but the boys are absent whenever there is work to be done. The local school opened on July 10 last, and out of 73 days in the first four months, the 15-year-old boy missed 48, and his 13-year-old brother 40, on account of berry-picking, tobacco cultivation, and general farmwork.

In Clark County a 10-year-old boy who has lived all his life with his parents on the farm they own, missed the entire school month of September in addition to other absences, because of his work in cutting and stripping tobacco and other farm tasks. This family had at the time a store credit of one year's standing.

In Hardin County a man has lived with his wife, one son and four daughters on a small farm for the past four years. He bought the property, paying 15 per cent bonus, which draws interest as well as the mortgage. Last summer they had six acres in tobacco, twelve in corn, and a small plot in vegetables. No help was hired, but instead, the 8, 12 and 17-year-old girls and the 10-year-old boy all worked in the tobacco field. Their father said by way of



Thirteen-year-old boy hoeing tobacco in school hours. August, 1916.

explanation, "That's the advantage of the tobacco crop—every child is a hand."

Another family of three sons and three daughters all under 14 years of age except one, live with their parents on a large farm which they own. This property alone is worth a comfortable fortune and the parents have other land elsewhere. Their residence is modern, substantial, and handsome. The father said that his ideal in education is to teach his children not to be ashamed of work, even though they may never have to labor for a living; and if they want to go to a first-class university, he is able and willing to send them. No one could, of course, find fault with this attitude, but unfortunately the teachers of these children say they are unable to pass from grade to grade because of their long absences from school, due to work on the farm. So the university seems to be only a remote possibility.

A man who is the father of six children and owns a well-equipped farm, raising corn, tobacco and live stock, is building a fine new residence. His 17-year-old daughter is the only one of the family who had been in school this year at the time the local school was



Cutting tobacco. September, 1916.

visited, and she had then been absent more than three months; the 10-year-old son worked regularly on the farm and the 13-year-old daughter helped about the house. The father said: "With all these crops on my hands and a new house building it is either keep the children out of school to work or hire help, and I couldn't afford to do that."

Last November, four months after the beginning of the school term in a certain district, a family of six children, the oldest of whom is 16 years of age, was found, none of whom had attended or even enrolled, although the school is within a mile and a half of their home. The father owns the farm of 76 acres where they have lived for the past twenty years, and yet the whole family is so poorly educated as to be almost illiterate.

Various expedients are resorted to by school authorities in the effort to improve the attendance of pupils. In Henderson County and elsewhere, for example, rural school teachers receive, besides a small increase in salary for each additional year of service, a bonus for good attendance records. But under the circumstances personal acquaintance with parents is necessary, and very few teachers know anything about the home conditions of their pupils, for like the tenants, they themselves move frequently from place to place and do not stay in one district long enough to know the families well. Being virtually strangers to the community they are ignorant of its problems, and so cannot act intelligently in any attempt to stimulate interest in the schools. Moreover, the shifting tendency of much of the population makes for indifference toward anything so confining as school.

The consolidation of schools holds out the chief hope for the improvement of conditions, for efficiency is practically impossible in a one-teacher school. In rural districts the term should be at least 160 school days; teachers should be thoroughly prepared for teaching, should receive good salaries and there should be a staff in each school large enough to keep the size of classes within reasonable limits. Each school should serve an area of about twelve square miles, free transportation being provided, of course, for the children. In connection with each there should be a residence for teachers and ground for use in agricultural demonstration, and the community should use the school as the social as well as educational centre.



Mary and her 10-year-old brother rise at 4 a. m.
and milk 17 cows



After breakfast she separates the
cream and cleans the separator
and the pans. Then when
the wagon returns after
delivery of the milk,
she washes the cans

The morning dairy work is finished
about eleven o'clock and she
has "time to herself," cro-
cheting or resting except
when caring for the
younger children or
doing housework



PLENTY OF TIME

A dairyman, on a
farm of 150 acres in
the "Pennyrile," who
is paid a salary and
given a residence and
use of live stock and
some ground for his
family, keeps his child-
ren steadily at work.
His oldest daughter is
14 and his oldest son
10. The girl has been
enrolled in the 8th
grade at school for two
years but each year
leaves to work at home.
Last May her father
said, "I couldn't a-got
along this year without
her help; she's been out
o' school since Christ-

ON A DAIRY FARM

mas helping with the dairy and housework. I told her if she'd help me out now, I'd let her finish the 8th grade next year. She wants to be a teacher but *there's plenty o' time*. She milks ten cows night and morning and her brother milks seven. He'd rather work than go to school. We raise some crops besides the dairy work."

The photographs show the daily round. They were all taken on a school day.



In midafternoon the cows are driven in from the pasture



She and her brother milk the 17 cows again in the late afternoon



And they finish the day's work just before supper

In order to determine approximately to what extent farmwork interferes with the attendance of children at the rural schools the records of absences of all pupils enrolled in selected educational divisions were obtained for the complete school months between the opening of the term and the visit of the agents. In many instances the term began early in July, and, as the schools were visited in November, records were obtained for the four school months of July, August, September, and October, during which farm work, especially tobacco culture, makes its chief demands upon the children. No records of children 16 years of age or over were noted because such children are not subject in any way to either the compulsory education or the child labor law of the state. The inquiry was confined to 141 schools in the subdistricts of certain educational divisions in the seven counties of Clark, Hardin, Henderson, Nicholas, Rockcastle, Trigg, and Warren. In so far as representative conditions could be judged by the percentages of enrollment and attendance for last year, those divisions which were neither the best nor the worst but which seemed to have



Boys, 10, 11, 13 and 14 years old, gathering, piling and spiking tobacco as hired hands for a tenant farmer. School had been in session two weeks but these boys did not attend. September, 1916.

average records were selected in the belief that they would reflect approximately the situation prevailing in each county.

The total number of children, 6 to 15 years of age inclusive, whose attendance records for the first few months of this school year were obtained, was 5,895 of whom 4,762 were white and 1,133 negroes. The agents learned incidentally of 170 white children under 16 years of age, living in the subdistricts visited, who were not attending any school, public, private, or parochial.



"Housing" tobacco in the barn. September, 1916.

When the record of attendance of each pupil was copied from the teacher's register, the cause or causes of absence were carefully inquired into. Through consultation with the teacher and with the pupil himself, the reasons for most of the absences could be assigned with a margin of error that, under the circumstances, is believed to be fairly small. The schools had been in session at the time not more than four months, so in assigning the causes of absences, the memory of the teacher and of the pupil was not so severely taxed as would have been the case if the inquiry had been made at the end of the term.

There was little or no uniformity so far as the term was concerned, for some schools opened later than others and indeed, in any county, few schools were found that had been in operation the same number of days. When the records were obtained, two of the 141 schools visited had been in session for one complete school month, 16 for two months, 68 for three months, and 55 for four months. Of these 141 schools, 116 were for white children and 25 for negroes.

In the following table the total number of children both white and negro, from 6 to 15 years of age inclusive, whose records of attendance were obtained, and the reasons for their absences, are given by counties. Many of the children who were absent on account of farmwork were of course absent for other reasons also, such as illness, bad weather, etc., but all children who were absent at any time because of farmwork are considered as *farmwork absentees*, in contradistinction to those whose absence was not due in any instance to farmwork but to other causes and who are described as *other absentees*, and to those who were not absent at all who are designated by the term *daily attendants*, as well as to those who were absent for *cause unknown*.

TABLE A
NUMBER OF WHITE AND NEGRO ABSENTEES AND DAILY ATTENDANTS, 6 TO 15
YEARS OF AGE INCLUSIVE, BY COUNTIES

	WHITE					NEGRO					Grand Total
	Farm Work Ab- sentees	Other Ab- sentees	Ab- sentees Cause Un- known	Daily Attend- ants	Total	Farm Work Ab- sentees	Other Ab- sentees	Ab- sentees Cause Un- known	Daily Attend- ants	Total	
(1) Clark.....	120	77	3	24	224	20	6	.....	2	28	252
(2) Hardin.....	143	353	41	90	627	.....	10	.....	32	43	670
(3) Henderson...	251	442	78	91	862	55	62	4	12	133	995
(4) Nicholas.....	43	98	4	49	194	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	194
(5) Rockcastle...	127	61	55	11	254	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	254
(6) Trigg.....	412	717	30	113	1,272	280	292	50	42	664	1,936
(7) Warren.....	315	722	145*	147	1,329	62	168	14	21	265	1,594
Total.....	1,411	2,470	356	525	4,762	418	538	68	109	1,133	5,895

* 38 of these were in one class whose records were not kept correctly.

In the next table the total days of absence of the farmwork absentees and other absentees are distributed among the various specified causes of absence. The total number of days each group of children should have attended was found by multiplying the number of days the schools had been in session at the time the records were gathered, by the number of children in each group. It was possible to do this because all the children in these groups should have been in attendance from the opening of the term, as they lived in the district, and inasmuch as the few children who moved in from elsewhere and who had possibly been attending some other school have not been included in any of the figures given in these tables. The total number of days each group of children was present added to the total number of days the group was absent equals the total number of days they should have



Stripping tobacco in school hours. November, 1916.



Colored school with a census of 27 and attendance of 7. The teacher said,
"Tobacco keeps them out and they are short of hands."
September, 1916.

attended. The number of days of absence due to each cause is given under a separate heading and the sum of these figures equals, of course, the total number of days each group was absent. Figures are given only for farmwork absentees and other absentees; as this table is concerned with causes of absence, those absentees the cause of whose absence is unknown, and those children who were daily attendants, are necessarily eliminated from consideration. It will be observed that the absences of the white children, expressed in the total days missed and ranging in order from the greatest number to the least, were due to (1) farmwork, (2) illness, (3) housework, (4) indifference, (5) distance of home from school, (6) child too young to attend regularly, (7) weather, (8) poverty (lack of books, shoes or suitable clothing), and (9) miscellaneous. For the negro children, this order for the first four causes is the same, the others being (5) distance, (6) poverty, (7) age (child too young), (8) miscellaneous, and (9) weather.

TABLE B

DISTRIBUTION AMONG SPECIFIED CAUSES, OF TOTAL DAYS OF ABSENCE OF FARM WORK ABSENTEES AND OTHER ABSENTEES, WHITE AND NEGRO, BY COUNTIES

Educational Division	NUMBER OF		Total No. of Days Children Have Attended	TOTAL NUMBER OF DAYS CHILDREN WERE			NUMBER OF DAYS CHILDREN WERE ABSENT ON ACCOUNT OF					Miscellaneous					
	Scholarship Visited 6-15 years	Children Should Have Attended		Present	Absent	FARM WORK			Illness	House Work	In-difference		Age	Distance	Weather	Poverty	
						Per-son	To-bacco	All Other Farm Work									Total
WHITE																	
Clark.....	3 & 4	7	120	6,658	4,619	2,039	562	863	1,663	132	178	50	77	5	11
			77	4,390	3,378	1,012	294	278	274	36	53
Hardin....	5	13	143	7,915	4,583	3,332	162	475	1,907	2,544	84	208	12	20	7	33	
			353	16,567	11,298	5,269	.....	.....	1,979	1,303	825	450	400	108	127	77
Henderson..	3 & 4	23	251	13,981	8,721	5,260	.....	3,176	980	4,156	793	90	162	21	21	17
			442	24,497	18,890	5,611	.....	.....	3,426	635	467	319	425	75	43	221
Nicholas..	1	7	43	2,347	1,447	900	21	630	200	851	10	35	.....	102	60	7
			98	5,338	4,409	929	.....	.....	396	117	232	.....	.....	.....	7	15
Rockcastle.	1	6	127	8,856	4,634	4,222	97	.....	3,681	3,778	210	45	169	.....	6	20
			61	4,335	2,711	1,624	.....	.....	403	636	315	71	152	.....	41	
Trigg.....	1 & 2	33	412	28,220	13,466	14,754	58	10,295	2,440	12,793	994	286	334	15	70	130	
			717	46,377	33,216	13,161	.....	.....	5,967	1,962	1,455	954	2,244	416	56	107
Warren....	5 & 6	27	315	19,369	10,894	8,485	283	4,059	2,850	7,192	677	318	229	31	38	.....
			722	42,694	29,265	13,429	.....	.....	5,664	1,628	1,941	2,562	895	385	177	
Total..	.....	116	1,411	87,346	48,354	38,992	1,183	19,498	12,296	32,977	3,240	1,036	1,152	79	154	215
			2,470	144,198	103,163	41,035	.....	.....	18,129	6,559	5,509	4,356	4,295	908	588	691
NEGRO																	
Clark.....	3	1	20	1,100	515	585	142	118	163	423	.....	112	41	.....	.....	9
			6	330	287	43	.....	.....	9	34	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hardin....	5	1	1	54	47	7	.....	.....	7	7	.....	88	43	.....	.....	.....
			10	540	393	147	.....	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Henderson..	3 & 4	4	55	3,281	2,082	1,199	.....	944	137	1,081	37	39	29	.....	13	339
			62	3,700	2,469	1,231	.....	.....	199	136	177	79	30	4	122	155
Trigg.....	1 & 2	12	280	15,469	8,808	8,661	.....	6,649	871	7,520	404	347	79	394	960	32
			292	14,968	8,361	6,627	.....	.....	1,505	1,428	1,674	384	30	72	563	32
Warren....	5 & 6	7	62	3,908	1,800	2,108	74	894	454	1,422	79	236	147	.....	11	92
			168	10,406	7,221	3,185	.....	.....	1,192	776	322	264	121	81	.....	.....
Total..	.....	25	418	23,812	11,252	12,560	216	8,605	1,632	10,453	520	734	296	.....	28	247
			538	29,964	18,731	11,233	.....	.....	2,921	2,462	1,725	151	179	982	.....	90

That the greatest number of absences of both white and negro children in these first few months of the school term is due to farmwork is most significant. It is also interesting that housework ranks third in responsibility for failure to attend regularly. In the case of the white children farmwork and housework caused almost as many days of absence as all the other causes combined; in the case of the negro children, they caused more. Neither of these causes furnishes a valid excuse for absence and this showing, not



A Rockcastle County school in August, 1916. The teacher said some children had not enrolled because of work although the school opened July 3.

to mention the absences due to indifference, reveals the fact that the compulsory education law in these rural districts is virtually a dead letter. Agricultural work is the chief factor in the interference with school attendance and the practice of keeping children away from school to work in the fields is winked at by the authorities. There are certain noteworthy exceptions, as in Nicholas County, where the county superintendent devotes much time and energy to the effort to prevent unnecessary absences, and the figures for

this county show the good effects of this campaign. These good effects, however, are noticeable only in the figures for the other absentees, and farmwork as a cause of absence presents as stubborn a problem there as elsewhere.

In the next two tables is shown the distribution of the children among the school grades by ages, the first table dealing with the white children and the second with the negro children. Between the heavy lines, appear the numbers of children of each age who



A consolidated school in Warren County. October, 1916.
Fine school spirit and attendance.

are considered as normally enrolled, that is, in the proper grades corresponding to their years. In fixing this standard, it is asserted that a child 6, 7, or 8 years old should be in the first grade, one 7, 8, or 9 years old should be in the second grade, and so on until we come to the 13, 14, or 15-year-old child who should be in the eighth grade. A more advanced child is classed as *ahead*, and one who falls below this standard as *retarded*. This is a more liberal standard than is commonly employed in such tests and has been adopted

TABLE C

DISTRIBUTION AMONG GRADES BY AGES OF FARM WORK ABSENTEES, OTHER ABSENTEES AND DAILY ATTENDANTS, FOR WHITE CHILDREN ONLY

FARM WORK ABSENTEES													OTHER ABSENTEES													DAILY ATTENDANTS												
Age	Grade										Total	Grade										Total	Grade										Total					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		Tot'l				
6 yrs..	12	2	1							15	312	58	6	7							383	17	3	2	1												23	
7 yrs..	34	19	11	1						65	166	128	42	15	1						352	10	25	18	1	2										56		
8 yrs..	27	37	21	8	2					95	71	106	106	49	8	1					341	4	27	25	10	4										70		
9 yrs..	26	34	45	31	10					146	25	59	80	73	37	4					278	2	7	16	26	13	1	1								66		
10 yrs..	11	39	38	41	28	3				160	13	32	51	64	66	23	6	1			256	1	7	7	19	24	7	2	1						68			
11 yrs..	10	18	42	53	46	9	3	3		184	2	10	33	54	60	34	16				209	1	2	6	15	20	16	10	1	2					73			
12 yrs..	2	12	45	54	50	31	20	1		215	4	7	23	32	48	36	36	6			192			2	4	9	13	15	4						47			
13 yrs..	4	5	21	37	51	36	34	9		197	1	1	12	22	35	24	52	13	6		166			1	3	7	7	16	8	3	2*				47			
14 yrs..	1	3	14	17	44	32	44	16	2	173	1	2	2	12	33	33	43	25	9	3	163				2	7	4	8	11	5				37				
15 yrs..		2	3	14	32	38	46	24	1	161	1	1		8	12	7	31	41	22	7	130							3	7	13	9	6	38					
Total..	127	171	241	256	263	149	147	53	3	1,411	596	404	355	336	300	162	184	86	37	10	2,470	35	71	77	81	86	50	59	38	19	8	525						

* One in eleventh grade.

TABLE D
DISTRIBUTION AMONG GRADES BY AGES OF FARM WORK ABSENTEES, OTHER ABSENTEES AND DAILY ATTENDANTS, FOR NEGRO CHILDREN ONLY

AGE	FARM WORK ABSENTEES											OTHER ABSENTEES											DAILY ATTENDANTS																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																
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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3		4	5	6	7	8	9	10																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
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for the purposes of this study because of the special difficulties attending the grading of pupils in rural schools where one teacher has charge of all the classes.

It is immediately apparent that the daily attendants make a far better showing than the absentees. This is, of course, to be expected, and assuming that the absentees are of about the same grade of intelligence as the daily attendants, the bad effects of absence upon the progress of pupils through the grades are profoundly impressive. In contemplating this situation one begins to appreciate what this waste of school time means to the child and to the community, measured in both moral and material terms. It is not possible to escape the conviction that indifference and neglect in the management of schools are just as costly as in the management of business affairs so far as the effect upon the school is concerned, and much more so in respect of the effect upon the community.

The Elementary State Course of Study and Teachers' Manual for 1916, in arranging the school work so that one teacher may not have more than five grades to teach, recommends the principle of alternation which is the union of two grades of pupils on consecutive years of work, both grades doing the work of one year in one class, while the other year's work is omitted; the following year the omitted work is taken up. Under this plan each pupil does all the prescribed work but not in the exact order of the grades, and the number of classes is reduced. In the present school year and every odd year hereafter, the work outlined for the first, second, third, fifth, and seventh grades is to be covered; and in the alternate years that outlined for the first, second, fourth, sixth, and eighth grades. In order to give pupils full credit for their work at school, those enrolled in the fifth or seventh grade this year who were in the sixth or eighth grade last year, have been classed in this study as sixth or eighth grade pupils.

In the following table the number and per cent of white and negro farmwork absentees, other absentees, and daily attendants who were found to be ahead, normal or retarded, according to the distribution in the two preceding tables, are given. The per cent of retardation is least among the daily attendants, being, for the white children, only 13.2 as against 22.8 for other absentees and 46.8 for the farmwork absentees, in the totals for the seven counties.

For the negro children, the comparison holds good but the percentages are higher for each group, being 34.2 for the daily attendants, 49.2 for other absentees, and 72.6 for the farmwork absentees. The relative retardation of farmwork absentees, other absentees and daily attendants in each county is the same as in the totals for the seven counties.

Among the white children, 73.1 per cent of the daily attendants are enrolled in proper grades, that is, are normal, while 68 per cent of other absentees, and only 50.9 per cent of the farmwork absentees are normal. Among the negro children, the corresponding percentages are 65.8, 49.7, and 27.1. It is also worthy of note that 13.7 per cent of the white daily attendants are ahead of the standard, which is much greater than the percentages of the absentees. Indeed, the showing of the daily attendants is in every way superior to that of the other pupils.

It is striking that the farmwork absentees are more retarded, both in actual numbers and in proportion, than the other absentees. This is the logical result of the fact that farmwork is responsible for more days of absence than any other cause. One might at first be inclined to think that illness as a cause of absence would be just as great a menace to the standing of the child in school as farmwork, but this is not the case. Farmworkers are more retarded than children who are absent on account of illness because farmwork is steady, while illness is occasional; moreover, farmwork occurs year after year, while illness may occur only once.

The outstanding fact in all these figures is that farmwork interferes with the education of rural children more than any other factor. The compulsory attendance law is frequently ignored. The consequences in retardation are disastrous alike to the child, to the school, and to the community.

What is Kentucky going to do about it?

TABLE E

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WHITE AND NEGRO FARM ABSENTEES, OTHER ABSENTEES AND DAILY ATTENDANTS, 8 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE, WHO ARE AHEAD, NORMAL AND RETARDED IN RESPECT OF ENROLLMENT IN GRADE ACCORDING TO AGE

		CHILDREN 8-15 YEARS OF AGE							
		NUMBER				PER CENT			
		Ahead	Normal	Retarded	Total	Ahead	Normal	Retarded	Total
Clark (7 schools).....	White.....	20	118	57	195	10.3	60.5	29.2	100.0
	Negro.....	...	11	14	25	...	(*)	(*)	...
Farm Work Absentees.....	White.....	7	65	41	113	6.2	57.5	36.3	100.0
	Negro.....	...	7	11	18	...	(*)	(*)	...
Other Absentees.....	White.....	11	37	14	62	17.7	59.7	22.6	100.0
	Negro.....	...	2	3	5	...	(*)	(*)	...
Daily Attendants.....	White.....	2	16	2	20	(*)	(*)	(*)	...
	Negro.....	...	2	...	2	...	(*)	(*)	...
Hardin (13 schools).....	White.....	21	285	144	450	4.7	63.3	32.0	100.0
	Negro.....	...	17	16	33	...	(*)	(*)	...
Farm Work Absentees.....	White.....	1	76	55	132	0.7	57.6	41.7	100.0
	Negro.....	...	1	...	1	...	(*)	(*)	...
Other Absentees.....	White.....	14	157	72	243	5.8	64.6	29.6	100.0
	Negro.....	...	5	4	9	...	(*)	(*)	...
Daily Attendants.....	White.....	6	52	17	75	8.0	69.3	22.7	100.0
	Negro.....	...	11	12	23	...	(*)	(*)	...
Henderson (23 schools).....	White.....	45	437	148	630	7.1	69.4	23.5	100.0
	Negro.....	...	34	65	99	...	34.3	65.7	100.0
Farm Work Absentees.....	White.....	6	139	99	244	2.4	57.0	40.6	100.0
	Negro.....	...	14	40	54	...	25.9	74.1	100.0
Other Absentees.....	White.....	30	235	41	306	9.8	76.8	13.4	100.0
	Negro.....	...	14	25	39	...	(*)	(*)	...
Daily Attendants.....	White.....	9	63	8	80	11.2	78.8	10.0	100.0
	Negro.....	...	6	...	6	...	(*)	(*)	...
Nicholas (7 schools).....	White.....	8	105	53	166	4.8	63.3	31.9	100.0
Farm Work Absentees.....	White.....	1	14	27	42	(*)	(*)	(*)	...
Other Absentees.....	White.....	2	56	26	84	2.4	66.7	30.9	100.0
Daily Attendants.....	White.....	5	36	1	42	(*)	(*)	(*)	...
Rock Castle (6 schools).....	White.....	3	83	89	175	1.7	47.4	50.9	100.0
Farm Work Absentees.....	White.....	...	50	68	118	...	42.4	57.6	100.0
Other Absentees.....	White.....	2	28	17	47	(*)	(*)	(*)	...
Daily Attendants.....	White.....	1	5	4	10	(*)	(*)	(*)	...
Trigg (33 schools).....	White.....	99	593	284	976	10.1	60.8	29.1	100.0
	Negro.....	4	187	289	480	0.8	39.0	60.2	100.0
Farm Work Absentees.....	White.....	9	199	184	392	2.3	50.8	46.9	100.0
	Negro.....	1	69	196	266	0.4	25.9	73.7	100.0
Other Absentees.....	White.....	65	331	93	489	13.3	67.7	19.0	100.0
	Negro.....	3	95	87	185	1.6	51.4	47.0	100.0
Daily Attendants.....	White.....	25	63	7	95	26.3	66.3	7.4	100.0
	Negro.....	...	23	6	29	...	(*)	(*)	...
Warren (27 schools).....	White.....	55	562	301	918	6.0	61.2	32.8	100.0
	Negro.....	1	92	111	204	0.5	45.1	54.4	100.0
Farm Work Absentees.....	White.....	6	135	149	290	2.1	46.5	51.4	100.0
	Negro.....	...	17	42	59	...	28.8	71.2	100.0
Other Absentees.....	White.....	36	336	132	504	7.1	66.7	26.2	100.0
	Negro.....	1	65	60	126	0.8	51.6	47.6	100.0
Daily Attendants.....	White.....	13	91	20	124	10.5	73.4	16.1	100.0
	Negro.....	...	10	9	19	...	(*)	(*)	...
Total (116 schools).....	White.....	251	2,184	1,077	3,512	7.1	62.2	30.7	100.0
	Negro.....	5	341	495	841	0.6	40.5	58.9	100.0
Farm Work Absentees.....	White.....	30	678	623	1,331	2.3	50.9	46.8	100.0
	Negro.....	1	108	289	398	0.3	27.1	72.6	100.0
Other Absentees.....	White.....	160	1,180	395	1,735	9.2	68.0	22.8	100.0
	Negro.....	4	181	179	364	1.1	49.7	49.2	100.0
Daily Attendants.....	White.....	61	326	59	446	13.7	73.1	13.2	100.0
	Negro.....	...	52	27	79	...	65.8	34.2	100.0

(*) Numbers too small for calculating per cent.

HOW ONE JUVENILE COURT HELPS TO MAKE CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION EFFECTIVE

MABEL BROWN ELLIS

National Child Labor Committee's Special Agent on Juvenile Courts

When the federal law for the regulation of child labor goes into effect next September, the more conspicuous and well recognized forms of exploitation of children in industry will be dealt a body blow. Mills, canneries, workshops and factories, mines and quarries whose products are to be shipped in interstate commerce will be better inspected and more fearlessly prosecuted for violations of the law than ever before and precisely because of the increased emphasis placed upon this field there is danger that public opinion may be unduly diverted from the much greater number of children employed under bad working conditions in occupations which are not touched and in all probability never can be touched by federal law.

If these boys and girls are to receive proper protection, all kinds of social agencies which come into contact with the problems of the working child must lend a more vigorous hand than ever before to the campaign for adequate enforcement of existing state laws and city ordinances. Every available source of information must be utilized, not only for the discovery and reporting of violations, but also as a basis for working out complete schemes of child care which will some day make impossible all premature employment of the young life of the community.

Prominent among these agencies stands the juvenile court. In many ways its position with regard to child labor is unique. The Bureau of Labor investigation into conditions of woman and child wage-earners in the United States showed how large a proportion of all children who came before the juvenile courts of certain large cities were working children. Out of the 4,839 cases studied, 2,767, or more than half, were, or had been, employed. Now the very foundation idea of juvenile court procedure is that it shall be based

upon knowledge of the child as an individual, which implies acquaintance with the social forces which have shaped his life, such as his home, his school, his work, and wherever the court is well established, provision is made for recording the facts thus brought to light. When a child is placed on probation, he must report to his officer regularly for periods sometimes covering a year or more and the substance of these reports must also become a part of the permanent court record. It follows that there should be available in the investigation reports and probation histories of wards of the juvenile court, many of whom are of working age when arrested, or become so while on probation, a large body of information on the kinds and conditions of employment open to children of their class.

No stronger argument for vocational guidance can be found than some of these week-to-week entries regarding children between 14 and 16 who are trying to win a foothold in the business world, and no more shocking illustrations of the necessity for child labor laws exist than the testimony of certain boys and girls whose parents seem to regard them only as potential sources of income.

Obviously, juvenile court employees have an unusual opportunity for cooperation in the enforcement of laws regulating the employment of children. Arkansas, California, Idaho, Kentucky and Rhode Island are among the states which recognize this fact by specifically enumerating probation officers in the list of those persons responsible for the enforcement of the child labor law. In the District of Columbia, Louisiana, Oregon and Washington, the judge of the juvenile court is given power to exempt children from the operation of the child labor law under certain conditions, and in states and cities which regulate street trading by children, violations of the ordinance are usually considered delinquencies, punishable by juvenile court procedure.

A short study recently made with the permission of Judge J. Wilmer Latimer in the Juvenile Court of Washington, D. C., illustrates very well the way in which court records and court influence may be used to promote better enforcement of existing legislation. It happens that in the District of Columbia the Juvenile Court is given jurisdiction over all cases against adults who have employed children in violation of the child labor law. The actual duty of inspection and the formal bringing of prosecutions is in the hands of two inspectors appointed by the Commissioners of the District.

These men are police officers who work out from police headquarters but their full time is supposed to be given to the child labor work. It is the custom of the chief probation officer, whenever an interview with a child reveals the fact that he has been illegally employed, to report the case to one of these inspectors, with the request for a complete investigation, and if conditions warrant it, a prosecution.

Prior to May, 1916, these reports were made by telephone, but since that time, they have been sent by letter. In January 1917, the carbons of these letters were checked by the records of prosecutions on the docket books of the court, to see what had been accomplished in the way of definite action.

During the six-month period from June 1, 1916 to January 1, 1917, only 18 prosecutions had been brought by the two inspectors and of these, 12 had been reported to them by juvenile court officers. Only 6 prosecutions,—one a month,—had originated with the department entrusted with the enforcement of the law. And this in a summer when owing to the unusual demand for workmen, violations of the child labor law have been notoriously frequent and flagrant!

During the same six-month period 48 cases had been reported to the inspectors by the probation officer. In only 12 of these had any action whatever been taken, so far as the court records showed. Three men were fined \$5.00 each; 1 case was continued indefinitely because of the absence of a material witness; 2 men escaped with sentence suspended; 1 case was nolle prossed; 1 was adjudged not guilty; and 4 cases were still pending when the study was made.

The 48 children represented some 13 different occupations, with errand boys furnishing nearly one-third of the total number, and wagon or delivery boys almost one-fifth. The full list shows a distribution which is probably typical of conditions in many other cities.

Occupation	Number of Children
Errand boy.....	15
Wagon boy.....	9
Pin boy, bowling alley.....	6
Messenger boy.....	5
Shop and order boys.....	3
Bootblack.....	2
Bell boy, apartment bldg.....	1
Clerk, Gas Company.....	1
Pants Factory.....	1

Occupation	Number of Children
Folder, laundry	1
"Gathering lilies"	1
Stable boy	1
Stock boy, store.....	1
	<hr/> 48

It can hardly be said that the violations reported by the probation officers were too trivial to be worthy of attention. Out of 48 children, 12, or one-fourth, were under 14. The one 11-year-old boy had been working in a bowling alley for two weeks from six to eleven-thirty every night. His weekly wage was \$3.50. One of the two 12-year-olds had been employed for five months as errand boy in a meatmarket. His day began at six-thirty a. m. and ended at seven in the evening and he earned the munificent sum of \$2.50 a week. His mate of the same age, whose hours are not recorded, worked as wagon boy, or "jumper." Nine boys of 13 were found, employed, two as wagon boys, two at errands, one as a driver, one as pin boy in a bowling alley, one as messenger boy, and one as helper in a bakery, where he had worked all night long on at least one occasion just before his arrest. Not one of these boys, of course, had a work permit. Fourteen boys were 14 years old and twenty were 15. In only one instance out of the whole group was it definitely stated that the child had working papers. In 43 instances he had none. In 4 instances, no statement was made.

The child labor law of the District of Columbia says that no child under 16 shall be employed more than eight hours in any one day, or before the hour of six antemeridian, or after the hour of seven postmeridian. Yet four of these children were working before six: two of them on milk-wagons; one as bell boy in an apartment building; and one as errand boy. Eighteen were working after seven. Everyone of the six boys who were setting up pins in bowling alleys undoubtedly worked after hours, but closing time was recorded for only five. It ranged from 11:30 p. m. to 1 a. m.

For 13 children the hours are not stated clearly enough to enable one to determine the actual length of the working day. In the 35 instances where this can be done, 17, or almost one-half, were employed longer than eight hours. Allowing a full hour at noon, except where otherwise stated on the records, we have the following distribution of hours employed per day:

Hours Employed	Number of Children
8¼.....	1
8½.....	1
9.....	1
9¼.....	1
"9 to 10".....	1
10.....	2
10½.....	1
"10 to 11".....	1
11.....	2
11½.....	1
12.....	2
12½.....	3
Pin boy, bowling alley—(Hours not stated but after seven, undoubtedly).....	1
	<hr/> 18

Of the two boys who worked an 11-hour day, one was a pin boy in a bowling alley, who stopped at 1:00 a. m., and the other was an errand boy in a shop who worked straight through from 7:30 in the morning until 7:00 at night, with only one-half hour off for lunch. A 14-year-old lad in a barber shop beat their record by half an hour by remaining on duty from 7:30 a. m. to 8:00 p. m. The 12-hour-day boys were the bakery shop employee who worked all night and a pin boy who reported at the bowling alley at 12 noon and stayed until 1:00 the next morning. He had been so employed for three weeks at \$7.00 a week. Two 15-year-old colored boys from Virginia were working twelve and a half hours daily in a Greek shoe-shining parlor where, with tips, one of them earned about \$2.75 and the other \$3.25. The third boy contrived to violate every provision of the child labor law, for he had no permit, and worked as bell boy, one day from 5:30 a. m. to 6:30 p. m. and the next from 11:00 a. m. to 12:30 p. m., thus being employed before six and after seven and for more than eight hours a day.

This boy holds the record for the largest number of violations discovered in any one case; yet there were 9 instances where 3 violations each were reported; 14 instances of 2 violations; and 23 of 1 violation. Further, the hours of work were not stated for 13 children and facts as to employment certificate were not given in 4 cases, so we have without question an understatement of actual conditions.

Of particular interest is the fact that only one of these children was engaged in an occupation which will be affected by the federal

law. The factory boy who earned \$3.00 a week by fastening buttons to trousers for some nine hours a day will have to shorten his day by one hour, provided his factory ships out the finished garments to other states for sale; but the other children, one-fourth of them under 14, will get no help from Uncle Sam.

The study is significant, not because of the number involved, which are, of course, very small, but because of the possibilities which it suggests. No probation officer can consider an investigation complete which does not give the fundamental facts of place of employment, wage, hours of work, kind of work done by child and length of time employed, for every working child under his supervision. He himself needs to have at least this information in order intelligently to direct the child's course. But such facts as those brought out in the Washington study should not be allowed to lie in the court records unseen by the inspector whose duty it is to make use of them. If an interview with a dependent or delinquent child reveals violations of the child labor law, can there be any doubt that they should be reported to the proper authorities just as inevitably as violations of any other laws which involve an adult offender? And having once been reported, is not an occasional follow-up test advisable to determine how conscientiously and skilfully the authorities entrusted with the enforcement of the statute are doing their work?

FIRST AID TO 30,000 CHILDREN*

HELEN C. DWIGHT

Publicity Department, National Child Labor Committee

Massachusetts, with a good child labor law, has discovered that "the passage of legislation is the easiest part of the problem." There are 30,000 children between 14 and 16 at work in Massachusetts who need not restrictive legislation, but constructive aids—continuation schools, recreation, health supervision, something to impel them to progress—those things that Joseph Lee calls "first aids to the civilized, the means of keeping them alive though working at our modern industry."

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, therefore, is concentrating this year on constructive work with these 30,000 children. Naturally the Committee cannot cover the whole state nor can it carry on the work itself throughout the state. It can experiment in the field, suggest to other local agencies the means of reaching children in their vicinity, and through its own activities stimulate other agencies to experiment along the same lines. To this end it has chosen one town, Fall River, as an experiment station and is already using the experience gained there to encourage similar work elsewhere.

Fall River is a fruitful field. It has over a hundred cotton mills boasting the production of 2,000 miles of cotton a day. It has also the highest percentage of illiteracy in the country, and was one of the cotton mill communities in which the federal government found, in its study of mortality among cotton mill operatives, that the cotton mill child has just half as good a chance as the child outside the mill of growing to be 20 years old. Forty per cent of Fall River's children leave school in the fourth or fifth grade, and last year work permits were granted to over 2,000 children between 14 and 16.

* Based on pamphlets published by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, and information furnished by Richard K. Conant, Secretary of that committee.

One of the first things the child labor committee did in Fall River was to study the recreational opportunities offered the children. It was found that most of the children spent their time on the streets, working at home, or going to picture shows, largely because the recreation grounds were not easily accessible to them. Near one cotton mill where 75 boys, 14 and 15 years old, were employed, the committee found a suitable field for baseball, secured a playground worker from the city supervisor of playgrounds, persuaded the mill management to furnish bats and balls, and so provided those 75 boys with an hour or so of baseball every day in place of the hour or so of street loafing they had been used to. Out of this group of boys there grew up a branch of the local Boys' Club which met in a vacant store during the winter when outdoor games were impossible.

This is but a single example of the work the committee is undertaking, but it gives an idea of how they are going about the task of reaching these 30,000 working children. One of their most striking ventures is a booklet, "Out to Win," which is addressed to the children themselves. It describes, in simple terms, the work most 14 and 15-year old children do. It asks, over and over again, "Where do these jobs lead?", "Do you want to get ahead?", "Do you want to earn more wages?", and then gives practical suggestions as to how the children can set to work to get ahead. "Show this book to your boss," is one suggestion, and this is followed by a note to the boss. "Dear Sir," it reads, "Will you advise this young worker how to get ahead in his work? Will you help him use his spare time in the ways shown in this book, so that he will do better work?" "Take this book to any school and show a teacher what you want to learn. The teacher will tell you where to go to start," is another suggestion. "Take this book to the nearest church club, settlement, boys' club, or girls' club and ask about these classes," is another. And all this is vivified by pictures of children at ordinary mechanical tasks, children learning in industrial and trade schools, children in settlement vocational classes, children using the recreational facilities of clubs and gymnasiums—in short, children making use of their spare time to get either the knowledge or the play they want. The idea is to familiarize child-workers with the opportunities for study and play in their vicinity. The booklets are given to children when they secure their employment certificates. They are also used by school teachers to influence children to stay in school. Organizations

use them to arouse interest in their activities among working children. And these booklets are circulated throughout the state, not simply in Fall River.

As another means of spreading interest, the committee has sent out schedules headed "The Working Child—Basis for Constructive Work," to social workers in the state with the request that these workers try constructive experiments *in one case*, keep a record of results, and turn them in to the child labor committee. The schedules call for facts as to the occupation, schooling, health, and recreation of the child. The possibilities for constructive work are classified as "Improvement in Occupation, Education, Health, and Recreation," and a history of such work is kept. If the social workers of the state respond satisfactorily to the child labor committee's request, these schedules should provide considerable very valuable information as to working children in Massachusetts.

The whole campaign is so new, however, that at present its interest lies rather in its possibilities than in its results. It is certainly stimulating interest in continuation schools; it is familiarizing a good many people with the everyday lives of working children; and it is impelling a good many of the children themselves to better their own conditions. One of its best results, however, seems to be that it is bringing employers, social workers, labor officials, and teachers closer together, and centering their interest not on a general legislative need but on the particular need of the individual child.

HELP WANTED!

What has your city done for child labor work?

Is interest keen in bettering bad conditions—local and national?

Are many people helping along the fight as members of the Committee?

NO?

Then lend us a hand in arranging

A CHILD LABOR EXHIBIT

If your city is not doing all it can and should for the working children, we want *your* advice and help in reaching your fellow-citizens.

Please write us for details

**National Child Labor Committee
105 East 22d Street
New York City**

National Child Labor Committee

(Incorporated; supported by voluntary contributions)

105 East 22d Street, New York City

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